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An Analysis of *NTC's Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs
and Other Idiomatic Verbal Phrases* (1)

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1. Introduction

Phrasal verbs dictionaries are very popular in the UK (e.g. McArthur & Atkins (1974), Cowie & Mackin (1975, 1993), Courtney (1983), Turton & Manser (1985), Sinclair & Moon (1989)). However, the situation is quite different on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. According to the publisher's blurb on the back cover, *NTC's Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs and Other Idiomatic Verbal Phrases* (hereafter *NTCPV*) is "the only American dictionary of phrasal verbs".

This article, written by an intended user of this book, will review *NTCPV* in a comprehensive and objective fashion. I used a copy in the first printing and did not consult one in the latest possible printing. Mistakes and inappropriate descriptions and explanations that will be mentioned may have been corrected by now (I hope so).

2. Intended users

According to the preface, *NTCPV* is "intended for the new-to-English user as well as for fluent speakers" (p. vii). It is a common commercial practice to avoid specifying user groups, but, as a language teacher myself, I guess it must have been a tough task for the NTC compilers to satisfy various needs of various user groups at a time, just as it is hardly an easy task for a language teacher to satisfy the whole class consisting of beginners as well as highly advanced learners.

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3. Phrases included

3.1. Phrasal verbs

NTCPV is a dictionary of 'phrasal verbs and other idiomatic verbal phrases'. However, the title is a little misleading because (1) 'phrasal verb' is defined ambiguously, (2) there are some strange 'particles' (see 3.2), and (3) 'other idiomatic verbal phrases' are loosely defined.

In the preface 'phrasal verbs' (or "combinations of a verb and one or more adverbs or prepositions") are defined semantically, namely, combinations that "function together as a single unit of meaning". However, they are defined grammatically (and ambiguously) in the glossary called "TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS" (pp. xvi-xvii). According to sense 1 (s.v. phrasal verb), they consist of a verb and an adverbial particle, while they are defined much more loosely in sense 2, namely, "a generic term covering *prepositional verb*, *phrasal-prepositional verb* [*sic*], the construction described under sense 1, and other *verb + particle collocations* where the *particle* is an adverb or other function word". It seems the term 'phrasal verb' is used in the second sense in the dictionary's title.

NTCPV also contains "[m]any sequences that are readily understandable" (p. vii) and "a number of constructions analogous to phrasal verbs" (p. ix).

3.2. Particles

Particles are "prepositions and some directional adverbs that are governed by verbs" (p. xvi). However, 'particle' is defined elsewhere as "an adverb or other function word" (p. xvii). It is not mentioned what are "other function words".

A survey has revealed that *NTCPV* contains the following 'particles':

- (1) conjunctions: *after* (**snap back (after sth)**), *before* (**appear before sth, think before doing sth**), *that* (**make out [that] sth**), *until* (**keep sth until sth**);
- (2) *to* as the marker of the infinitive (e.g. **challenge sb to sth**).

(Direct and indirect objects are indicated by "someone", "something", etc. in *NTCPV*, but to save space they are often abbreviated to 'sb' and 'sth' in this review.)

The particle *to* is confusing in some entries as the next table shows, where 'to-inf' and 'to-prep' stand for *to* as the marker of the infinitive and *to* as a preposition, respectively:

- (1) to-prep only (e.g. **abbreviate sth to sth**);
- (2) to-inf only;
 - (2a) a pro-verb 'do' used (e.g. **oblige sb to do sth**);
 - (2b) a particular verb used (e.g. **lead sb to believe sth**);
- (3) to-inf as well as to-prep;
 - (3a) monosemous entry (e.g. **drive sb to sth**);
 - (3b) polysemous entry (e.g. **condition sb or sth to sth**).

(3a) and (3b), where *to* has two meanings, are very confusing. The two examples given at **drive sb to sth**, "*She drove him to leaving her*" and "*She drove herself to stay awake*", will confuse the learner. At **condition sb or sth to sth to** stands for to-inf in sense 1, while it is to-prep in sense 2.

It is mentioned that *NTCPV* "does not include most instances of verb + *to* where the *to* is the marker of the infinitive" (p. ix). It is not clear how such combinations have been chosen (for instance, **force sb to do sth** is not included).

In dictionaries of this type *to* should be treated only as a preposition; it should not stand for the marker of the infinitive.

3.3. Idiomatic and non-idiomatic combinations

NTCPV is a dictionary of "Idiomatic Verb Phrases" (front cover). However, it also contains a great number of non-idiomatic combinations. The dictionary often neglects to tell the user whether a particular phrase has an idiomatic (or figurative) meaning as well as literal one. For instance, only literal meanings are shown in the following entries: **brighten up, bring sb or sth forward, break sth on sth, carry sb or sth out, drop across sb or sth, line up alongside sb or sth**.

It seems that non-idiomatic combinations were selected in a rather random fashion. For instance, **break sth on sth** as in "*He broke his arm on the steps*" is included, but phrases like **break sth under, break sth in**, etc. are not. Similarly, **sway back and forth, sway from side to side**, and **buy sth on credit** are all included, but **run back and forth, shake sth from**

side to side, and **pay in cash** are not.

Many of these literal combinations are regarded as 'free combinations'. Take the 'verb + to death' construction as an example. *NTCPV* includes both **bleed to death** and **choke to death**, but it does not include other possible combinations such as **burn to death**, **starve to death**, **stab sb to death**, nor does it include a more important phrase **put sb or sth to death**.

It is misleading to include non-idiomatic (free) combinations in such a random fashion, for it is doubtful that phrases included are more typical, important collocations than those omitted.

3.4. Antonymous phrasal verbs

It is not unusual that the combination with an opposite meaning to a particular phrase is not included. For instance, **strike for sth** in the sense of "to conduct a work stoppage in order to gain something" is included, but its antonymous phrase **strike against sth** as in "*The workers were striking against unequal pay*" is not (see also **break sth on sth** in 3.3). Phrases associated in meaning with each other should be included (and cross-referenced appropriately; see 10).

4. Index heads

Entries are introduced by 'index heads' and 'entry heads' (see 5).

An index head is capitalised and consists of a verb followed by a particle separated by an arrowhead (p. x; e.g. LAY ► OUT). The particle is usually the first particle after the verb.

When the first particle is an optional element, however, the second particle is shown. For instance, **abut (up) against sth** is shown under ABUT ► AGAINST, not under ABUT ► UP. This rule is occasionally broken. For example, **go overboard about sb or sth** is explained under GO ► ABOUT and is not referred from GO ► OVERBOARD (see also **come out in(to) the open (with sth)**).

All the 71 particles are listed on p. xvi, where *upside-down* is the only compound particle. It is used only at TURN ► UPSIDE DOWN (**turn sb or sth upside down**). However, the index head could be combined

with TURN ► UPSIDE, where **turn sth upside down** is explained.

Phrases having a causative verb such as *get* or *let* are shown under the index head with the causative verb. They should be cross-referenced from the entries without the causative verb. For instance, **get sth sewed up** and **let sth slip by** are shown under GET ► UP and LET ► BY, respectively, but they are not cross-referenced from **sew up** and **slip by**, respectively.

5. Entry heads

Entry heads printed in boldface type contain the two words in the index head and are listed in alphabetical order beneath the index head (p. x). For instance, under BRING ► DOWN are listed **bring sb down**, **bring sb down to earth**, **bring sth crashing down (around one)**, etc.

One of the distinctive features of *NTCPV* is the indication of human and nonhuman direct/indirect objects (p. viii). This will be discussed in 6.

5.1. AND, and, or

'AND' is used to introduce alternate forms (see 5.6), while '**and**' is an element of a phrase (e.g. **fluctuate between sb and sb**). The boldface 'or', which introduces an alternative element (except **make heads or tails of sb or sth**, where the first **or** is a part of this phrase), can be confusing in some entry heads such as **match sb against sb or sth against sth else**. The **or** should be typographically distinguished from other elements of the phrase, say, in italic type (see also 6.1).

5.2. Entry heads and other information

Judging from the definition, usage note, and/or examples, some entry heads are considered inappropriate. For instance, **drain out** has two examples: "*All the milk drained out of the container onto the bottom of the refrigerator*" and "*All the oil drained out of the crankcase*". If this phrasal verb is usually followed by an *of* phrase as the examples show, the entry head should be **drain out of sth**. The entry for **be on** (def. 2) has a usage note: "Often with a *for* phrase". Then the entry head should be replaced with **be on (for sth)**. See also **call sb down**, **get out with sth**, **jump all**

over sb, live sth over, splatter sb or sth up, stuff sth up, trade up from sth/trade up (to sth).

5.3. Gerunds

A gerund may be a part of a phrase and is indicated in the following ways (N stands for 'noun (phrase)'):

- (1) particle + doing (e.g. **begin by doing sth**);
- (2) particle + (doing) (e.g. **beat sb into (doing) sth**);
- (3) particle + something
 - (3a) something = N only (e.g. **talk sb out of sth**);
 - (3b) something = doing only? (e.g. **deceive sb into sth**);
 - (3c) something = N and doing (monosemous entry) (e.g. **trick sb into sth**);
 - (3d) something = N and doing (polysemous entry) (e.g. **give sth up**).

Among these (1), which means the particle is always followed by a gerund, (2), which means the particle is followed by either a gerund or a noun (phrase), and (3a), which means the particle is always followed by a noun (phrase), are acceptable, but the others are all confusing. The two examples at **deceive sb into sth** both show the preposition is followed by a gerund, but it is not clear whether it can also be followed by a noun (phrase). In (3c) and (3d) the **something** has two meanings. (3d) is especially confusing; at **give sth up** a gerund may follow the particle only in the second sense.

5.4. Entries that cannot be 'eligible as an entry'

Some entries have a note: "not eligible as an entry". For instance, it is applied to **settle down somewhere**, where the particle *down* can be omitted without changing the meaning of the phrase, but "the resulting expression is not *eligible as an entry* because there is no particle" (pp. xv-xvi).

However, optional elements are usually shown in parentheses (pp. xiii-xiv). Thus such a strange note becomes unnecessary by simply including the optional element in parentheses, namely, **settle (down) somewhere**.

Compare it with **settle (back) (in(to) sth)**, which does not have an 'eligible' note.

5.5. Independent or combined entry heads?

There are dozens of entries that are associated with each other in both form and meaning. They could, or should, be combined (see also 5.6 and 6).

5.5.1. When the same entry head appears more than once

Phrases that have the same form are all shown under the same entry head, even though they have quite different meanings. For instance, five different senses are listed under **put sth out**.

However, this rule is ignored from time to time without clear reasons. There are cases where a pair of phrases are given a separate entry status each other even if they are identical not only in form but also in meaning (e.g. **cut sth off, dissociate oneself from sb or sth, leave sb or sth out (of sth)**). It is confusing that the information given (particularly definitions and usage notes) is often different from each other. For example, the second **leave sb or sth out (of sth)** has a note "*Someone includes oneself*", but the first does not, even though they are virtually the same phrasal verb.

5.5.2. When the same or very similar examples are given in two different entries

It is very strange to find exactly the same, or very similar, examples in two different entries. Compare:

fall (up)on sb or sth . . . 2 [for something] to become the responsibility of someone or a group. □ *It falls upon you to have the window repaired. . . .*

fall (up)on sb (to do sth) to become someone's responsibility to do something. . . . □ *It falls on you to fix the window.*

Is it significant that the forms (i.e. '**sb or sth**' as opposed to '**sb**' only; with or without '**to do sth**') and the definitions are different from each other? Other examples are: **allow sth for sb or sth/allow sth for sth, back sb or sth up/back sth up** (def. 1), **bring sth on sb/bring sth (up)on one-**

self, cloak sb or sth in secrecy/cloak sth in sth, drop around (for sth)/drop around (sometime), grade sb down on sth/grade sb or sth down, switch sb or sth over to sth/switch sth over (to sth). (See also 6.2.3.)

5.5.3. When two or more phrases become identical if optional elements are omitted

Many phrases become identical when optional elements shown in parentheses are removed. Compare:

lay sth out to explain something; to go over details of a plan carefully. . . .

lay sth out (for sb) to explain something in great detail to someone. (Colloquial.) . . .

The former entry is unnecessary.

A more serious problem is that the information given is different. Is it true that “*She laid out the details for him*” is a colloquial expression, while “*She laid out the details*” is not? Another example is **make (good) use of sth/make use of sb or sth**. Is the difference between “**sth**” and “**sb or sth**” significant? Also compare: **bum around/bum around (with sb), cave in/cave in (on sb or sth), clean sth off/clean sth off ((of) sth), cut out** (‘Slang’)/**cut out for some place** (‘Colloquial’), **drone on/drone on (about sb or sth), drop in/drop in (on sb), fall in love/fall in love (with sb or sth), fritter sth away/fritter sth away (on sb or sth), hurry back/hurry back (to sb or sth), keep sb in ignorance/keep sb in ignorance (about sb or sth), let on (about sb or sth)/let on (to sb) (about sb or sth), let sb or sth (get) out (of sth)** (def. 1)/**let sb or sth out (of sth), travel by sth/travel (from some place) (to some place) (by sth)**.

There are entries that are semantically identical but are treated differently in terms of optional elements. Compare: **bind sb or sth up in sth** AND **bind sb or sth up with sth/bind sb or sth up (with sth), go out of sth/go out (of sth), jerk sb or sth out of sth/jerk sth out (of sb or sth)**. Note the difference in the objects of the last pair. (See also 6.2.3.)

5.5.4. When “Someone includes oneself” is involved

There are some pairs of entry heads that could be combined by using the note: “*Someone* includes *oneself*”. For instance, **help oneself to sth** is redundant because it is virtually identical to **help sb to sth**, in which “*Someone* includes *oneself*”. Also compare: **burn (oneself) out/burn sb out, busy oneself with sb or sth/busy sb with sb or sth, dress (oneself) up/dress sb or sth up/dress sb or sth (up) (in sth), get (oneself) up/get sb up, trouble oneself about sb or sth/trouble sb about sb or sth.** (See also 6.2.6.)

5.5.5. When “F” examples overlap with “T” examples

In some sequences of *off of* or *out of*, the *of* is replaced with *from* when the *off* or *out* is moved to precede the direct object. Such examples are introduced by a box with “F” (**F**) (p. xiii). However, the “F” example in **drain sth off (of sth)**, for instance, becomes identical with the “T” example in **drain sth off (from sth)** (e.g. “*Drain off the broth from the chicken*”).

5.5.6. When *from* and *to* are involved

Many sequences consisting of *from* and/or *to* phrases can be combined into a single entry head. For instance, **dispatch sb from some place** and **dispatch sb or sth to sb or sth** can (or should) be converted into a single entry head: **dispatch sb or sth (from sb or sth) (to sb or sth)**. (The “**sb**” in **dispatch sb from some place** is incorrect; see the second example given there. Note also the difference between “**some place**” and “**sb or sth**”; see 6.2.8.)

Other examples are: **count up to sth** (def. 1)/**count from sth (up) to sth, escort sb or sth from sth/escort sb or sth to sth, jump up (from sth)/jump up (to sth)**. The entry head **switch sth to sth** should be corrected to **switch sth (from sth) to sth**.

5.5.7. Someone/something

When a phrase may take both human and nonhuman objects, they are shown as “**someone or something**” (see 6.2.3). However, this rule is occasionally broken, perhaps carelessly. Examples are: **eavesdrop on sb/**

eavesdrop on sth, fluctuate between sb and sb/fluctuate sth and sth, give (an) ear to sb/give (an) ear to sth, tip sb over/tip sth over.

5.5.8. Other redundant entries

The entry for **fork money out for sth** is redundant because it can be regarded as one of the examples of the sequence **fork sth out (to sb)** (def. 2). In the following set of entries, the first two are redundant: **come to terms (about sb or sth)** AND **come to terms (on sb or sth)/come to terms with sb or sth/come to terms (with sb or sth) (about sb or sth)** AND **come to terms (with sb or sth) (on sb or sth)**.

5.6. Alternate forms

An entry head, or one of the senses of an entry head, may have one or more alternate (or additional) forms (pp. x–xi). There are cases where misleading alternate forms are given. For instance, the parenthetical “(around)” in **fool (around) with sb or sth** is misleading; the additional form **fool with sb or sth** is given to sense 2 and sense 3. Then what do the parentheses mean? At **get a grip on sth** the additional form **get a hold on sth** should be given to the whole entry, that is, soon after the entry head, not to sense 1 only (the second example of sense 2 does show this form).

There are entries that should (or could) be combined by means of appropriate alternate forms. For instance, **be bound up in sb or sth** and **be bound up with sb or sth** could be merged (cf. **keyed up (about sth)** AND **be keyed up (over sth)**). Similarly, **exult in sth** could be shown as an additional form after **exult at sth** AND **exult over sth**.

The real problem is, here again, that it is doubtful whether the differences in the information given are significant. Compare:

get into an argument (with sb) (about sb or sth) to enter a quarrel with someone about someone or something. . . .

get into an argument (with sb) (over sb or sth) to enter a quarrel with someone about who will end up with someone or something. . . .

Here *over* is regarded to have a different meaning from *about*. However, *over* and *about* are interchangeable at **argue (with sb) (over sb or sth)**

AND **argue (with sb) (about sb or sth)**. Which is correct? Also compare: **learn sth by heart/learn sth by rote**.

When a phrase is cross-referenced to another synonymous phrase, the two phrases could be explained at the same time, one of them being shown as an alternate form of the other. For instance, **ban sb from sth** (def. 2) has a note: “The same as *bar someone from some place*” (for “**some place**” see 6.2.8). Then they are explained at one of the two entries, the other being cross-referenced to it. Also compare: **catch up (to sb or sth)/catch up (with sb or sth)**, **direct sth against sb or sth/direct sth at sb or sth**.

It is not unusual that such cross-references are shown in one direction only (see 10). Compare: **be in over one’s head (with sb or sth)/be in (sth) over one’s head**, **check out (from sth)/check out (of sth)**, **sit right with sb/sit well with sb**.

5.7. Imperative entry heads

There are a few entry heads shown in an imperative form (e.g. **Hang on to your hat!** AND **Hold on to your hat!**, **Get off it!**), while there are some other entries with a special note. For instance, **go on (with you)** and **go away** have the following notes, respectively: “Always a command. No tenses”, “Often a command”.

5.8. Interrogative entry heads

Unlike imperative entry heads, interrogative entry heads may cause minor trouble in retrievability. For instance, **Where do (you think) you get off?** is arranged in alphabetical order under GET ► OFF, and thus comes next to **get sth off (to sb or sth)**. The set phrase could be included in a note after the definition of **get off**. Incidentally, the set phrase **What can I do for you?** should be explained under **do sth for sb**, not under **do for sb**.

6. Selectional restrictions

One of the distinctive features of *NTCPV* is “the indication of human and nonhuman direct objects” (p. viii). The indication of this kind is very useful especially for the foreign learner. However, there are problems:

some are rather minor, but others are more serious.

6.1. Selectional restrictions or real elements?

Human and nonhuman objects (and other pro-forms; see 6.2) are printed in the same typeface as the real elements of a phrase (i.e. verbs and particles). They should be typographically separated from each other, otherwise entries can become confusing.

There are entries where **something** etc. appear as they are. For instance, **slip sth over sb or sth** AND **slip one over on sb or sth** has a note: "The *something* is used unchanged." It means the first (not the second) **something** may appear as it is. This is very confusing. Besides, the note is more or less misleading. Firstly, the *something* may be changed into *anything* or *nothing* depending on the context, and secondly, the **one** is also used unchanged. See also: **dream sth up, have sth with sb, mean sth to sb, drop around (sometime)**. Such a warning is missing at the following entries: **lay one on, get sth on sb or sth, make sth of sb or sth**.

6.2. Pronouns, pro-adverbs, and other pro-forms

Selectional restrictions are typically shown by **someone** or **something**, or by their combination (**someone or something**), but other pro-forms are used from time to time (e.g. **one, some time, somewhere, somehow, money** etc.).

6.2.1. Someone

Needless to say, **someone** refers to a human object. However, it refers to nonhuman objects at **display sth to sb** ('bird', 'committee') and **descend from sb** ('family'). Words like *committee* and *family* refer to human object in its broader sense, but they are treated as nonhuman objects in *NTCPV* (see 6.2.2), so the **sb** in these entry heads should be **sb or sth**.

The usage note at **tow sb or sth away** is useful.

6.2.2. Something

As mentioned above, **something** may refer to human objects in its broader sense. For instance, "a bad crowd" in "*He runs with a bad crowd*

and is bound to get in trouble" (**run with sb or sth**) is replaced with 'something' in the entry head.

6.2.3. Someone or something

It is regrettable that the indication of selectional restrictions is hardly reliable in some entries. For instance, compare the objects between **testify for sb** and its antonym **testify against sb or sth**. Is this difference really significant? Other examples are: **be soft on sb/to [sic] be soft on sb or sth, level sth against sb/level sth at sb or sth, take sth with one/take sb or sth with one, turn sb or sth upside down/turn sth upside down** (see also 5.5.2, 5.5.3).

It is not unusual that the indication of direct objects is by no means congruent with the examples given. For instance, the first example at **filch sth from sb** reads "*The young boy filched a candy bar from the store*", which is inconsistent with "**from sb**". See also **get sb through to sb or sth**.

6.2.4. Set phrase or not?

Another serious problem is that it is often unclear when a normal phrase becomes a set phrase. For instance, the example "*They cloaked the whole project in secrecy*" is given at **cloak sth in sth**, while **cloak sb or sth in secrecy** does have a separate entry (see also 5.5.2; note the difference between the direct objects). Other examples are: **take sb for sth** (def. 1)/**take sb for a fool/take sb for an idiot, take sb for sth** (def. 2)/**take sb for a ride, close sth on sb or sth** (def. 2)/**close the door to sth; curve to sth/jog to the right or left, flash through sth/flash into one's mind**.

The entry head **get along with sb** should be corrected to **get along with you**, if the usage note is correct: "Only with *you*". See also **spread sth on thick** (def. 2: "Always with *it*").

There are opposite cases: direct objects are too specific in some entries. For instance, is *reelection* in **be up for reelection** the only possible object in this phrase? Is *election* impossible? See also **consecrate sb or sth to God**.

6.2.5. Someone('s) or one('s)?

The pronoun **one** is sometimes used instead of **someone**. This creates another confusion. Compare (the examples are cited from *NTCPV*):

- (1) **throw up one's hands in despair** (*She threw up her hands in despair.*)
- (2) **blow someone's brains out** (*Careful with that gun, or you'll blow your brains out.*)
- (3) **get out of one's face** (*Get out of my face, you creep!*)
- (4) **get out of someone's sight** (*Get out of my sight!*)
- (5) **bring one to oneself** (*A glass of ice water in the face brought her to herself.*)
- (6) **hurry one on one's way** (*Mary hurried Joel on his way so he could catch his train.*)
- (7) **hurry someone or something up** (*Please hurry them all up.*)

In (1) and (2) both **one's** and **someone's** refer to the same person as the subject. From (3) to (7), on the other hand, they refer to a different person (or a thing) from the subject.

A possible solution is to apply the following formulae: use "**one('s)**" when the object refers to the same referent as the subject; use "**someone('s)**" in other cases. Exceptions: use "**himself/herself, etc.**" in cases like (5); use "**his/her, etc.**" in cases like (6).

Incidentally, compare **make one's mind up (about sb or sth)** with **make sb's mind up**. The former is all right, but the latter is very misleading. It could accept a sentence like "??*I made his mind up*" (the definition reads "to do something that decides something for someone"). Besides, neither of the two examples given there show this construction; they should be given under **make one's mind up**.

6.2.6. "Someone includes oneself"

At least two problems should be mentioned about this usage note (see also 5.5.4). Firstly, the absence of this note does not necessarily mean that the construction does not accept reflexive pronouns. For instance, the note is missing at **claim sth for sb or sth**, even though the examples given there all show that possibility ("*for itself*", "*for herself*"). Similarly, the note is given at **cage sb or sth in** and **train sb on sth**, but not at **cage sb or sth**

up (in sth) and **train sb in sth**.

There are some entries where it is doubtful whether the entry head has been decided carefully. Compare, for example, **bring sth on sb**, which has the "*Someone includes . . .*" note, with **bring sth (up)on oneself**. Is the difference between **sb** and **oneself** based on the real usage?

Secondly, "**something**" may also include *oneself*, namely, *itself/themselves*, in some entries, as in the first example at **claim sth for sb or sth** shown above.

6.2.7. Sometime, some time, a period of time, a time

Pro-adverbs and other pro-forms are used in some entry heads. As with **someone** and **something**, they should be typographically separated from the verb and particles involved.

In the following phrases "**for some time**" and "**for a period of time**" mean the same thing: **doss down (for some time)/stop off (some place) (for a period of time)**.

The "**sometime**" in **take one back (to sometime)** refers to a time in the past, while that in **drop around (sometime)** refers to a time in the future. The examples given at the latter both include the word *sometime*, but an example such as "*Why don't you drop around while you're in this city?*" would be useful.

It is not clear how different "**a time**" in **arrange sth for a time** (e.g. "*We will arrange a picnic for the afternoon*") is from "**something**" in **arrange sth for sb or sth** (e.g. "*We arranged a dance for the holiday*").

6.2.8. Somewhere, some place, a place, something

It is not clear, either, how different "**some place**" is from "**something**". Compare **drive up (to some place)** (e.g. "*She drove up to the door and stopped*") with **drive up to sth** (e.g. "*If you want to order fried chicken here, you drive up to the window and place your order*"). See also **exit (from sth) (to sth)**, **exile sb (from sth) (to sth)**. Locative objects could be referred to simply by "**something**".

Another problem is that "**some place**" is used in two ways. For instance, "**some place**" in **stop off (some place)** and **stop over (some**

place) refers to the whole prepositional phrase (e.g. “*I have to stop off at the store for a minute*”), while that in **stop in (some place)** and **stop by (some place)** and “**a place**” in **set sth in a place** refer to a noun phrase only (e.g. “*Do you want to stop in Adamsville or just drive on through?*”). This is confusing.

The “**at**” is misleading in **leave sb or sth at some place** (“*here*” and “*behind on my desk*” are shown in the examples).

In these cases “**somewhere**” would be better as in **turn up (somewhere)**.

6.2.9. Somehow, some kind of, some, something

These are used in the following phrases: **turn out (somehow)** (e.g. “*I hope everything turns out all right*”), **get some kind of mileage out of sth** (e.g. “*I wish I could get better mileage out of this car*”), **shed (some) light on(to) sb or sth** (e.g. “*The single hanging bulb shed very little light on her work*”), **think sth of sb or sth** (e.g. “*Please don’t think ill of me*”).

These entry heads could simply be **turn out, get mileage out of sth, shed light on(to) sb or sth, and think of sb or sth**, with an appropriate usage note, for example, “Usually with *more, better, good*, etc.” See the usage note at **get mileage out of sth**. See also **take pride in sb or sth**, where the first example reads “*I take a great deal of pride in my children*”.

Incidentally, the particle “**forward**” in **face (oneself) forward** is used as a kind of pro-adverb; the usage note reads “Also with many other directions — *backward, to the right, to the left*, etc.”

6.2.10. An amount of money, money, a price

These pro-forms are included in the following phrases: **shell out an amount of money (for sth) (to sb), lose money on sth, advertise sth for a price**. They could be replaced with “**something**” (possibly with a usage note), because both “**money**” and “**price**” can be misleading (e.g. “*Liz shelled a fortune out for the stereo*”, “*I lost thousands on that deal*”, “*The shop advertised chocolates for four dollars a pound*”).

6.2.11. Between people, between sb and sb else, etc.

Consider which entry heads are appropriate, inappropriate, or misleading:

- (1) **distinguish between sb or sth and sb or sth**
- (2) **draw a line between sth and sth else**
- (3) **divide sth between people or things**
- (4) **divvy sth up (between sb) AND divvy sth up (among sb)**
- (5) **interface sb or sth with sb or sth**
- (6) **interchange sb with sb else**
- (7) **envisage sb or sth as sb or sth**
- (8) **envision sb as sb else or sth as sth else**
- (9) **match sb against sb or sth against sth else**

(1) to (3) are more or less misleading: “**and**” may or may not appear after “**between**”. (4) is inappropriate if “**someone**” only refers to a single referent. (5) to (9) are all acceptable, but “**else**” could be omitted. Otherwise a great number of entry heads would actually need “**else**” (from **abandon sb or sth to sb or sth to zoom sb or sth (over) to sth**).

Superscripts could be used (e.g. **interchange sb¹ with sb²**).

(To be concluded.)

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(1996年3月11日受理)

An Analysis of the *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary*, New Edition¹⁾

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1. Introduction

When *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (abbreviated to COBUILD¹) was issued in 1987, users in Japan (most of them were school teachers and lexicographers) were surprised because they found it very different from the conventional dictionaries. What surprised them most was the way COBUILD¹ listed the entry words. It employed the one word, one entry policy. That policy was applied so rigidly that no distinction was made between homonyms and homographs. Thus in the main entry word **seal**, two unrelated words that have different etymologies were listed: **1 A seal** is **1.1** a special design that is the official mark of a person or organization. **4 A seal** is also a large animal that eats fish and lives partly

1) We wish to thank Prof. Rober H. Thornton for reading and suggesting improvements. All errors that remain are our responsibility.

on land and partly in the sea, usually in cold parts of the world. Similarly, two words with different pronunciation but the same spelling entered under the same headword. **Lead** /li:d/ and /led/, and **pace** /peɪs/ and /peɪsi/ were the case.

COBUILD¹ was criticized for these reasons. At the same time it was praised for its innovation in giving definitions in full sentences together with the 'authentic' illustrative examples based on a large English corpus. It is also praised, and criticized at the same time, for its innovative transcription of reduced vowels, and nasals. Numerical superscripts such as /ə¹/~ /ə²/, /ɪ¹/~ /ɪ⁵/, /m¹/, /n¹/, etc. might be a good way to show the shifts in pronunciation of weak vowels and nasals, but they are not userfriendly. These figures impose unnecessary burdens on the learners. Underlining to indicate a shift in stress was easy for learners to understand, was still comprehensive in its application. It deserved high praise.

Grammatical information, such as verb patterns given in 'Extra Column,' was fairly detailed and informative. However, there were cases where verb patterns and illustrative examples did not correspond. The code 'V-ERG' (ergative) has been introduced for the first time into the dictionary. Since there are many verbs that are used either as intransitives and as transitives, this new code is very useful for giving grammatical information of that kind.

On the whole, critics in Japan have been favorable to COBUILD¹ in spite of the shortcomings, many of which all first edition dictionaries share. The dictionary has been welcomed by English teachers in Japan, but we wonder how many learners appreciate it. The target users of the dictionary seem to be advanced learners rather than beginners.

We believe the Bank of English, which is growing at a rate of around 5 million words per month (according to Internet information), made it possible to refine the definitions supported by totally renewed illustrative examples. We are very interested to know what efforts have been made to eliminate the previous shortcomings, and what further innovations have been made in the New Edition, and what new features have been added for a better understanding of the English language.

2. Entries and Information in the Extra Column

This section deals with the entries in the 2nd edition of *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary*, first from the quantitative point of view. In addition to the quantitative analysis of the entries, the qualitative aspect of the 2nd edition is also taken into account, that is, the way the entries are presented. This section also looks at the information given in the Extra Column, especially at the introduction of *Frequency Bands*.

2.1. Entries

The total number of pages in this dictionary has increased by 248 pages from the 1703 of the first edition to 1951 in the present volume. Although the number of lines per page decreased from 174 to 164, this increase in page numbers results in an increase of about 236,000 lines in total. Needless to say, this expanded space means not only more detailed explanations of words and phrases already in the dictionary but also the introduction of a number of new entries.¹⁾

2.1.1. The total number of main entries in *COBUILD*² is not exactly shown except that it claims on the backcover that it covers "over 75,000 references". If we naïvely regard the expression of "references" as "entries," this figure means 5,000 additional entries to the first edition. However, as it was pointed out in Kojima et al. (1989: 46), *COBUILD*'s way of counting entries is somewhat problematic. In order to check the validity of its claim of more than 75,000 references, we used a sampling test.

2.1.2. First, sample pages were taken at every 40 pages of *COBUILD*², and they amounted to 48 pages. Then it was found that the average number of main entries was 17.3 words per page. In order to figure out the total number of main entries in *COBUILD*², this average word number (17.3) was multiplied by the total number of pages in *COBUILD*², which is 1951. The answer thus obtained was 33,752, which is very far from the number indicated above. Even if the total number of run-on entries (4,682;

1) *COBUILD*² (p. ix) says that 'COBUILD made available a lot of space for new and additional entries, by increasing the size of the book and also by more efficient presentation'.

2.41 per page) and that of sub-entries (2,556; 1.31 per page) are added together, the result is 40,990, which pales in comparison with the dictionary's claim of 75,000 references. This result reveals that *COBUILD*² is not exceptional in taking advantage of the now-prevalent way of counting dictionary entries: namely, regarding all the information in bold face as entries¹⁾.

2.2. New entries and deleted words

*COBUILD*² employs a computer corpus of over 200 million English words, which is roughly ten times larger than the one used in the first edition. This expansion of the size of the corpus, it is claimed, is reflected in the choice of entries.

2.2.1. First, let us look at the main entries included in *COBUILD*² but not in *COBUILD*¹. Newly adopted main entries amount to 101 in the sample above used. Only 2 words of these 101 new entries are treated as run-on entries in the first edition. And another 2 words are described as part of the definition of their main entries in *COBUILD*¹. As a result, entirely new entries account for about 96% of the total. On the other hand, 76 main entries in *COBUILD*¹ have disappeared, with 10 of them treated as run-ons and 5 described as part of examples in *COBUILD*².

2.2.2. Now we will get down on a closer look at the new entries. *COBUILD*² (p. ix) says that it "is not a historical record of the language, and it is not a list of all the peculiar words" such as those used in a crossword (emphasis in original). The first point to be noted concerning the new main entries is that there are a lot of compounds among them. About half of the main entries newly adopted in *COBUILD*² are compounds. For example, there are 8 new compound entries at page 40 of *COBUILD*²: air-drop; airfare; airframe; air freshener; airhead; airplay; air power; airshow. This fact may suggest that *COBUILD*² is quite willing to treat multiple word expressions as main entries.

2.2.3. As is pointed out in Kojima et al. (1989: 64), the entries in *COBUILD*¹ are quite neutral in terms of regional, technical and stylistic

1) See Landau (1984: 84).

varieties. This means that it tends not to include words used by a particular group of people or in a particular social context. In line with this tendency, *COBUILD*² (p. ix) claims that it 'gives priority to the English of most general utility worldwide.' As far as new entries are concerned, however, *COBUILD*² seems to put an emphasis on American English because 8 of the new main entries in our sample are labeled as "American" while only 4 of them are labeled as "British."¹ This might be a reflection of this dictionary's own claim that it covers a lot of American usage as well as British English.

Another noticeable fact about the new main entries in *COBUILD*² is that it seems to be in favor of informal words rather than formal ones. In our sample of 101 new main entries, 8 entries are labeled as "informal" or "very informal" (e.g. *blag*, *chutzpah*, *ciao*, *ciggy*, *hiya*, *knacker*, *pic*, and *supremo*), whether they are British English or American, while only 2 are marked as "formal." (e.g. *curatorial* and *proportionality*) This might be the result of improved treatment of the spoken language in the corpus.

2.3. Changes in Entry Organization

The way of arranging and presenting entries is basically the same as that of the first edition. That is to say, main entries are presented in bold face, one letter protruding to the left side margin. And the inflected forms of the main entries follow in smaller bold face. The same symbol ● which is employed in the first edition is still used in *COBUILD*² to introduce set phrases and cross-references.

2.3.1. There are slight changes in the use of symbols. Derived words are treated as run-on entries following the symbol ◆, which has replaced ◇ of the first edition. Another change is the adoption of the symbol ►, which is used in three different ways. First, it represents a change in word class involving no change in meaning. Second, it introduces a meaning closely connected with another meaning. And third, it introduces phrasal verbs which have the same meaning as the headword verb. However, phrasal verbs are generally given the status of sub-entries and presented when the

1) *LDCE*³ and *OALD*⁵ are also used to examine regional varieties and usage labels.

entire description of the main entry ends, just as in the first edition.

2.3.2. The most noticeable change in the presentation of main entries of *COBUILD*² is in the introduction of *Superheadwords*. Although the first edition of this dictionary was epoch-making in that it kept to the strict policy of 'one word, one entry', it raised a question of whether words of different classes or of different origins should be placed under the same headwords. *COBUILD*² takes into account the disadvantage pointed out in reviews of the first edition, and tries to make it easier for learners to find a word with several meanings. One way which *COBUILD*² has adopted in trying to solve word-finding problems is through the introduction of *Superheadwords*.

Superheadwords is a way of dividing a main entry of different word classes or with several quite different meanings into sub-entries. Each superheadword is marked with a number and followed by a brief explanation of a given word. For example, *order* is divided into three sections: "**order 1** subordinating conjunction uses"; "**order 2** commands and requests"; and "**order 3** arrangements, situation, and groupings". As a result, *COBUILD*² looks, in appearance, more like a conventional dictionary in that there exist several headwords for the identical form, just as homographs are marked with superscripts and treated separately in traditional dictionaries.

2.3.3. The introduction of *Superheadwords* seems quite innovative at first glance, but whether or not this apparently novel way of presenting polysemous items will help ease word-finding problems is a different matter. The first question to be raised concerning the use of *Superheadwords* is that there seems to be no explicit principle which decides whether or not a superheadword is employed for a given item with multiple meanings or of distinct origins. For example, *light* is divided into three sub-entries such as "**light 1** brightness or illumination", "**light 2** not great in weight, amount, or intensity", and "**light 3** unimportant or not serious". The differentiation between **light 1** and **light 2** is quite reasonable, even to the non-native speaker's intuition, but the distinction between **light 2** and **light 3** is unpersuasive. The meaning "unimportant or not serious" of **light 3** is rather easy to guess from the meaning of **light 2**, especially from the 11th

paragraph¹⁾ through the process of metaphorical semantic extension.²⁾ There seems no positive reason to put them into different sections. In contrast to this, *heavy* is treated under a single headword without using a superheadword. If there is any need to separate **light 2** and **light 3**, then why is the 17th paragraph of **heavy** not treated as a different sub-entry?

There is another question about *Superheadwords*. Despite the adoption of this new way of presenting headwords, different word classes are put under the same headword, as in *COBUILD*¹. For example, **light 1** contains verb and adjective uses as well as the noun ones. In contrast to this, superheadwords are sometimes employed according to the differences in word class. *Back* is divided into three parts as: “**back 1** adverb uses”; “**back 2** opposite of front; noun and adjective uses”; and “**back 3** verb uses”. Such a fluctuating policy of employing superheadwords as this will be quite confusing for the users of this dictionary.

2.3.4. As to the organization of run-on entries, the problem pointed out in Kojima et al. (1989: 49) still remains unsolved. In this dictionary, derived words appear sometimes as main entries and sometimes as run-on entries. The adverb *positively* appears 4 times as a run-on entry while, at the same time, it appears independently as a main entry. Furthermore, in the 8th paragraph of the main entry *positive*, a cross-reference to the adverb *positively* is offered, but that is a little confusing because it is not immediately clear which *positively* is referred to.

Similar word-finding problems may occur when we look up verb-particle combinations such as *put on* and *take off*, because of this dictionary's treatment of run-on entries and sub-entries, i.e. phrasal verbs.³⁾ For example, we cannot find any obvious reason why the example *Take off the price of the house, that's another five thousand*, which is in the 10th paragraph of the verb *take* is treated as an independent use of the headword verb and not as a use of the phrasal verb *take off*.

1) This definition reads as follows: “**11** If you describe the result of an action or a punishment as **light**, you mean that it is less serious or severe than you expected.”

2) As to the metaphorical semantic extension of *light* and *heavy*, see Kozaki (1997).

3) As has been mentioned in 2.3.1, verb-particle combinations are treated as run-on entries or sub-entries.

2.4. Information in the Extra Column

It can be said that one of the most characteristic features of the *COBUILD*¹ is its efficient use of the Extra Column. *COBUILD*² also makes use of this informative space, but with a slight change. As grammatical information and Pragmatics are examined in detail in other chapters, we focus on the presentation of related words in main entries and frequency of word uses.

2.4.1. In the Extra Column of *COBUILD*¹, the symbols ↑, = and ≠ are used to introduce respectively a superordinate word, a synonym, and an antonym of a given word. *COBUILD*², however, retains only the latter two of those symbols. Superordinates are no longer offered in *COBUILD*², which is quite deplorable. Although the presentation of superordinates in the first edition was severely criticized as unsystematic and far from satisfactory¹⁾, it cannot be denied that this innovation is quite helpful for learners as well as inspiring to lexicographers.

2.4.2. One of the most noticeable innovations in *COBUILD*², along with the introduction of *Superheadwords*, is the adoption of *Frequency Bands*. This is an index system of the frequency of word uses in the Extra Column by means of five diamond-shaped symbols. The most frequently used 700 words are marked with all five diamonds in black, and 1,200 words of a little less frequency are given four black diamonds and a white diamond. Three black and two white diamonds are given to the 1,500 words at the next frequency level. 3,200 words used still less frequently are marked

Frequency Bands	Total Number of Words	Examples
◆◆◆◆◆	700	the, and, of, to, like, go, paper, return
◆◆◆◆◇	1,200	argue, bridge, danger, female, obvious, sea
◆◆◆◇◇	1,500	aggressive, medicine, tactic
◆◆◇◇◇	3,200	accuracy, duration, miserable, puzzle, rope
◆◇◇◇◇	8,100	abundant, crossroads, fearless, missionary

1) See Kojima et al. (1989: 107)

with two black and three white diamonds. And, finally, a combination of one black diamond with four white marks 8,100 words of still lower frequency.

These five levels of frequency, combined with no markers for least-frequently-used words, make it possible to differentiate 6 levels of frequency of words in *COBUILD*². No doubt, they are quite useful for learners, because they tell them which word should be learned first.

2.4.3. Although there is no denying the fact that information given by *Frequency Bands* is quite helpful for learners of English, there remain some points to be improved. The first point is that it only offers the frequency of uses of a headword, not of separate meanings of the word. For example, the headword *effect* is marked with five diamonds, indicating that it is among the most frequently used words of English, but when we look at the fifth paragraph of this word, we find that the verb use of it is presented there. This raises a question of whether the verb *effect* is so frequently used as to be included among the most important 700 words. This way of presenting word frequency is quite confusing in that there is a possibility that learners at the beginner level will regard all the different meanings of this headword as most frequently used. The cause of this problem lies partly in the way this dictionary organizes entries. As has been mentioned in 2.3., *COBUILD*² basically employs "one word, one entry" policy. Because of this policy, the noun uses of the word *effect* and the verb use of it are put together under the same headword.

(M. Kozaki)

3. Pronunciation

3.1. Overview

The new edition has a strong prescriptive orientation, which is stated in its guide to pronunciation on p. xxxviii (this section is henceforth referred to as the Guide) as follows:

Our aim has been to provide a pronunciation key that is accurate, clear, and simple. The basic principle underlying the suggested pronunciations is 'If you pronounce it like this, most people will understand you'.

Pronunciations in the revised edition are provided using the phonetic symbols adapted from those of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), following the convention of the English Pronouncing Dictionary (EPD, 14th Edition revised by A.C. Gimson and S.M. Ramsaran)¹⁾.

Unlike the previous edition, which described only Received Pronunciation (RP), the current edition has both RP and General American (GenAm) in its descriptive scope. Systematic vowel differences between the two major accents of English are explained in the Guide and left unmarked throughout the main body of the dictionary. Only when it is necessary, a separate transcription for General American is given after the code AM. Although it is stated that "Where more than one pronunciation is common in British English, alternative pronunciations are also given", this is done only sparingly. In consequence, the present edition provides only one pronunciation key for the majority of words. This is a reasonable choice given the above mentioned editorial principle.

As for the description of GenAm, there seems to be some room for improvement. For most of the so called "CLOTH-words" (Wells, 1982), the American pronunciation with vowel /ɔ:/ is shown after the code AM. However, for the word *fog*, this American variation is not shown. The entries for *issue* and *ate* are /ɪsju:, ɪju:/ and /et, eɪt/, respectively, indicating erroneously that /ɪsju:/ and /et/ are possible American pronunciations.

3.2. Use of superscript r

In this dictionary, the superscript /r/ shows that "i) in RP /r/ is pronounced only when it is followed by a vowel; ii) in GenAm, r is always pronounced." The Guide provides further examples such as *fire*, *flour*, *fair*, *near*, and *lure* and states, for example, that *fire* is pronounced /faɪə/ in

1) Cobuild uses the symbol /ou/ for the vowel in *go* and *hope*, and the rationale behind this, stated in the Guide, is that this symbol is the hybrid of RP /əʊ/ and General American /o/. This choice, however, fails to give an accurate transcription for the RP pronunciation. Since phonetic symbols for RP is used whenever there is a systematic sound difference between RP and GenAm elsewhere (e.g. RP /v/ and GenAm /ɑ/ for *hot*), users might believe that /ou/ is the RP pronunciation. This can be avoided by the use of /əʊ/ instead of /ou/.

RP and /faɪr/ in GenAm. This is done to avoid the confusion that /r/ is pronounced after /ə/ in GenAm since these examples contain a diphthong or a triphthong that end with /ə/ in RP. The superscript /r/ is also used to represent pronunciations of words such as *hard* /hɑːr^d/ and *door* /dɔːr^r/.

The introduction of the superscript /r/ makes possible a concise description of both RP linking /r/ and GenAm pronunciations, but it has certain shortcomings. When it comes to describing the monophthong that appears in *bird*, *hurt*, etc., it fails to accurately represent the phonetic difference between RP and GenAm. The vowel in *bird* in GenAm is a monophthong, and as Takebayashi has pointed out (Takebayashi, 1984; Higashi et al. 1986), the use of symbol /ɜːr/ is extremely misleading since this gives the impression that the vowel is a diphthong pronounced /ɜːr/ in GenAm.

This notation is also problematic in transcribing words in which this vowel occurs before another vowel as in *stirrer*. This word has a single pronunciation key in the dictionary: /stɜːr^r/. Here, the /r/ after the vowel /ɜː/ is no longer in superscript, and no RP-GenAm difference is obvious from the transcription as far as /ɜː/ is concerned. Moreover, when /ə/ is interpreted as /r/ for GenAm, we obtain /stɜːrr/, which suggests that this word is monosyllabic with two /r/'s at the end.

One solution is to use an additional symbol such as /ə/ or /ɜ/ for the GenAm r-colored vowel as is suggested by Takebayashi (Takebayashi, 1984; Higashi et al. 1986) and used in several English-Japanese dictionaries edited by him (e.g. Lighthouse English-Japanese Dictionary, New College English-Japanese Dictionary). This approach makes explicit the differences between RP and GenAm: /faɪə/ vs. /faɪə/; /stɜː/ vs. /stɜː/; /stɜːrə/ vs. /stɜːrə/. (For further discussion on practical merits pertaining to the use of /ə/, see Takebayashi, 1984)

3.3. Reduced Vowels

Unlike the previous edition which used a complicated system of superscript numerals, the present edition cleverly utilizes italicization to represent various patterns of vowel reduction. To show that the first vowel in "accept" can vary from /æ/ to /ə/, symbol /æ/ is italicized as in /æ^ksɛpt/. Not only full vowels such as /oʊ/ /eɪ/, and /u:/ as in *notorious*, *candidate*,

and *fortune*, but also reduced vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ are sometimes italicized, indicating that reduction can go toward /ə/. This convention saves space and provides an accurate description of vowel reduction at the same time and we find it quite suitable for a dictionary compiled for nonnative learners of English.

3.4. Weak forms

The present edition gives comprehensive descriptions of frequent weak forms across various parts of speech such as articles, personal pronouns, auxiliary verbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. It first gives a weak form, and then adds its strong form after "STRONG" as in /ənd, STRONG ænd/.

Weak forms given in the new edition, however, seem to be limited to frequent ones. For example, weak forms of "your" and "their", both of which are marked as "occasional weak forms" in EPD, are not given. Personal pronouns that begin with /h/ sound (e.g. "him" and "her") often have weak forms whose initial /h/ is dropped, but this possible /h/ deletion is not mentioned. This, again, seems to stem from the prescriptive orientation of the present edition.

3.5. Stress

The present edition follows the unique system of stress description of the previous one, with minor modifications. For polysyllabic words in which primary stress comes after secondary one(s) as in *disappointing* and *disqualification*, all stressed syllables are underlined as in /dɪsəpɔɪntɪŋ/ and /dɪskwɒlɪfɪkeɪʃən/. The fact that the final underlined vowel receives primary stress in citation forms is stated in the Guide and this is regarded as understood in the main body of the dictionary. In the previous edition, stressed vowels were printed in bold and underlined, but this redundancy, which was pointed out by Takebayashi (Kojima, et al. 1989) has gone in the new edition¹⁾.

As Takebayashi pointed out (Kojima, et al. 1989), this system has the

1) Underlining is also used to indicate stress patterns for compounds such as *Christmas cake*, *Christmas Eve*. This was not done in the previous edition.

advantage of indicating possible stress shift accurately. Indeed the Guide has a concise and excellent explanation of how stress shifts depending on contexts in which a given word appears. As two important features of underlined syllables, the Guide mentions the following:

- 1) They can take primary or secondary stress in a way that is not shared by the other syllables
- 2) Whether they are stressed or not, the vowel must be pronounced distinctly; it cannot be weakened to /ə/, /ɪ/, /ʊ/.

Since these features are shared by most monosyllabic words (i.e. except the ones that have weak forms), vowels in them are also underlined.

One unfortunate consequence of this convention is that secondary stressed vowels that come after primary stressed ones in citation forms cannot be underlined as in "ridicule" /rɪdɪkju:l/, in spite of the fact that the final /u:/ must be pronounced distinctly and it does take secondary stress. Further, when such secondary stressed vowels are either /ɪ/ or /ʊ/ as in *cataclysm* or *outlook*, one cannot tell whether they are stressed or weak vowels.

(N. Takagi)

4. Definitions

4.1. Sentence Definitions

4.1.1. Minor Changes in Sentence Definitions "The most distinctive feature of the original dictionary was the use of full English sentences in the definitions", said the editor in chief proudly.¹⁾ It is true, though sentence definitions are no longer the trademark of *COBUILD* when its rivals are so keen on following suit. In fact, he has made "no apology for full sentence definitions".²⁾ On the contrary, they appear to have been further improved in the current edition. A few of the (rather minor) changes help the user read definitions more easily.

1) *COBUILD*², p. xi.

2) *Ibid.*

4.1.1.1. In the 1987 edition, the first part of the definition was not repeated if a word had several senses in a particular pattern of use.¹⁾ In the 1995 edition, however, all definitions start on a new line with a whole definition number, making a separate paragraph each other:

magazine

- 1st ed. A **magazine** is **1** a publication . . . **2** a topical news . . . **3** a compartment in a gun . . . **4** a building . . .
- 2nd ed. **1** A **magazine** is a publication . . .
2 On radio or television, a **magazine** or **magazine programme** is a programme . . .
3 In a gun, the **magazine** is the compartment . . .
4 A **magazine** is a building . . .

Similarly, 'sub-paragraphs' introduced by numbers with a decimal point have been abolished:

nod

- 1st ed. If you **nod**, **1.1** you move your head . . . **1.2** you bend your head . . . **1.3** you bend your head . . . **1.4** . . .
- 2nd ed. **1** If you **nod**, you move your head . . .
2 If you **nod** . . . , you bend your head . . .
3 If you **nod**, you bend you head . . .
4 . . .

For separation and ordering of different senses, see 4.2.

4.1.1.2. In the first edition, definitions were sometimes interrupted by phonetic descriptions. This never happens in the new edition:

abatement

- 1st ed. **abatement** /əbeɪtmənt/ means . . .
- 2nd ed. **abatement** /əbeɪtmənt/. **Abatement** means . . .

4.1.1.3. In the former edition, the adverb *also* was often used to connect different paragraphs under the same headword. For instance, the second sense of **immediately**, "You use **immediately** . . .", was followed by the third, "You also use **immediately** . . .". The "also" presupposed that the user would read all definitions consecutively. The new edition seems to

1) *COBUILD*¹, p. viii.

have avoided the paragraph connector, separating paragraphs from each other.¹⁾

We welcome the new layout, which will make it easier for the user to seek the information he wants and, of course, much easier for him to read.

Incidentally, it should be mentioned that different forms of a compound are now fully spelled out. Compare:

curtain call

1st ed. also spelled with a hyphen.

2nd ed. also spelled **curtain-call**.

The new edition is more 'user-friendly' in this respect.

4.1.2. More Important Changes The new features mentioned so far all concern manners of presentation — in other words, the 'craft' of lexicography. The new edition's definitions will now be reviewed more closely.

4.1.2.1. Some definitions were re-written so that they match the grammatical descriptions provided in the 'Extra Column'. First of all, some common nouns are defined with a plural noun head²⁾:

cockle

1st ed. A **cockle** is an edible shellfish. N COUNT: USU PL

2nd ed. **Cockles** are small edible shellfish. N-COUNT: usu pl

Other common nouns are defined in a similar way, even though they do not have a 'usu pl' label:

dragonfly

1st ed. A **dragonfly** is a brightly-coloured insect . . . N COUNT

2nd ed. **Dragonflies** are brightly-coloured insects . . . N-COUNT

This is because "there are much more examples in our corpus where *dragonfly* is used in the plural form".³⁾

Rather unfortunately, however, the new edition is full of inconsistencies

1) But *also* is left at **however** (def. 5).

2) Plural nouns like *police* are defined with a plural head both in the first and the second editions.

3) Ms Gwyneth Fox, editorial director, personal communication.

in this respect. *Butterfly* is defined in its singular form; *cod* (N-VAR) as plural but *carp* (N-VAR) and *salmon* (N-COUNT) as singular. The third sense of *flower* has a plural head, whereas the second has a singular (both with the same grammatical label, 'N-COUNT: usu pl').

It would be fairly easy to make the dictionary more consistent: if a particular noun is typically used in its plural (or singular) form, write its definition with a plural (or singular) noun head with an appropriate grammatical label such as 'usu pl' (or 'usu sing'). However, we still have to wonder why *dragonfly* and *cod* are typically plural when *butterfly*, *carp* and *salmon* are typically singular. Is 'The Bank of English' really reliable in this respect?

There are similar inconsistencies in the second edition. Compare the next two excerpts (both from the second edition):

cosmos

The **cosmos** is the universe; . . . N-SING: *the N* = universe

universe

The **universe** is . . . N-COUNT: usu *the N* in sing

The different typefaces may reflect the differences in the grammatical labels supplied (that is, with or without "usu"). However, the following example breaks this rule:

mother country (def. 2)

If you refer to **the mother country** . . . N-SING: usu *the N*

It would cause little trouble for the user whether the definite article is printed in bold typeface or not. The real problem lies in the fact that he never knows how different '*the N*' is from 'usu *the N*' or even 'oft[en] *the N*' (e.g. **jitters** "N-PLURAL: oft *the N*").

We must hasten to add, however, that many of the definitions of the second edition match their grammatical labels. Here are some examples:

persistence

1st ed. (def. 1) The **persistence** of something N UNCOUNT
is . . .

2nd ed. (def. 2) The **persistence** of something, N-UNCOUNT:
. . . , is . . . usu *the N* of n

abdomen1st ed. The **abdomen** is . . . N COUNT2nd ed. Your **abdomen** is . . . N-COUNT: oft poss N**lance**1st ed. If you **lance** a boil on someone's body, . . . V + O2nd ed. If a boil on someone's body **is lanced**, . . . VB: usu passive**bay**¹⁾2nd ed. (def. 6) If . . . a number of people **are** VB: usu cont
baying . . .

These are all good definitions. The next has also been improved, but it still has a problem:

entwine1st ed. If you **entwine** something in V-ERG: USU PASS,
something else, . . . IF + PREP THEN *in/with*2nd ed. (def. 1) If one thing **is entwined** with V-RECIP-ERG
another thing or if you **entwine** two things, . . .

The second edition's definition, which is obviously better than that in the first, indicates only two of the four possible syntactic behaviours of this verb.

4.1.2.2. Many sentence definitions still use verbs such as *mean* and *use* to describe meanings, as the first edition did. The use of these verbs not only spoils the value of the defining sentence but could be confusing. Here is an improved definition:

envelop1st ed. To **envelop** something means to cover, surround, or enclose
it completely.2nd ed. If one thing **envelops** another, it covers or surrounds it
completely.

But **ruin** (def. 1), for example, is defined as "To **ruin** something means to severely harm, damage, or spoil it.", which is virtually the same as the first edition's definition to this sense.

1) This sense was not included in the first edition.

Adjectives and adverbs are often defined by means of *mean* (e.g. **early**), while *use* is most often used when explaining the uses of function words (e.g. **in**). The following definitions are confusing for the user — at least for Japanese learners of English:

magic (2nd ed.)1 **Magic** is the power to use supernatural forces . . .2 You can **use magic** when you are referring to . . .3 You **use magic** to describe something . . .

The first definition is a little confusing and the latter two are much more confusing, because *use magic* is an acceptable, though not typical, collocation.¹⁾ This collocation is especially confusing for Japanese learners of English; there is a strong Japanese collocation, *mahou o tsukau*, whose literal translation is 'to use magic'. The Japanese learner could fail to understand that *use* in the latter two definitions is an explanatory verb.

It would not be very difficult to avoid the use of *mean*,²⁾ but it is a troublesome issue how lexicographers might avoid confusion by using a heavy-duty verb *use*.

4.1.2.3. The discussion in the preceding section makes us realise that there exist 'hidden' problems that are unavoidably created by sentence definitions.

Defining sentences are probably most useful for describing (1) selectional restrictions of a headword:

beautiful1st ed. (def. 1) Someone or something that is **beautiful** is very good
and pleasing to look at.2nd ed. (def. 1) A **beautiful** woman or child is very attractive to look
at.

or (2) typical collocations:

hay fever1st ed. **Hay fever** is inflammation . . .

1) The first sense of **magic** (adj.) in *OALD*⁵ reads, "used in or using magic".

2) The above definition could have been "If someone **ruins** something, they severely harm, damage, or spoil it."

2nd ed. If someone suffers from **hay fever**, . . .
or even (3) typical 'users' of the headword:

wild child¹⁾

In British English, journalists sometimes use **wild child** to refer a young teenage girl . . .

For the first two headwords, the second edition gives more information than the first.

However, there are problems as far as (2) is concerned. First of all, there are unfortunate inconsistencies. Some diseases are given typical collocates, but others are not. The new edition tells the learner that people may "have a cold, headache, or stomach-ache", but "suffer from amnesia, jet lag, or rhinitis". Yet he never knows whether people may "have a backache, heartache, or toothache", nor does he know whether they may "suffer from AIDS, cholera, or leukaemia".²⁾

It will not be a hard task to 'cure' *COBUILD* of such inconsistencies in the next edition. The crucial problem is: When do definitions of words (or compounds) and those of phrases (and even examples) part from each other? Compare the full definition for **hay fever** with that in *OALD*⁵:

*COBUILD*²: If someone suffers from **hay fever**, their nose, throat, and eyes become inflamed, usually because they are allergic to the pollen of some grasses or flowers.

*OALD*⁵: an illness affecting the nose, eyes and throat, caused by POLLEN breathed in from the air

It is good that *COBUILD* gives more (encyclopaedic) information than *OALD*, not to mention the important collocation *suffer from hay fever*. However, *COBUILD* does NOT define this compound; it only explains the meaning of the whole expression "someone suffers from hay fever". Unlike *OALD*, *COBUILD* does not tell the user that hay fever is "an illness", which is the genus proximum of this definition (Zgusta 1971:

1) The definition is from the second edition. The first edition did not include this compound.

2) Among these only **heartache** has an example which shows a collocate *suffer*.

252). It has also ignored a traditional defining practice, obviously on purpose, that "the definition should reflect the part of speech of the word defined" (Landau 1984: 134).

Defining sentences of this type could allow the lexicographer to write extreme 'definitions' almost to the point of absurdity. Can the following (fake) definition of *taxi*, but not of *take a taxi*, be regarded as 'definition' at all?

When you take a **taxi**, you go somewhere by it.

This is an over-exaggerated example, but *COBUILD* has already taken a further step. Compare the following definitions both taken from the second edition:

If you achieve **fame**, you become very well-known. (s.v. **fame**)

If you **lose** your **temper**, you become so angry . . .

(s.v. **temper**, def. 5)

To "lose one's temper" is regarded as a (fixed) phrase, both *lose* and *temper* being printed in bold face, whereas to "achieve fame" is not. Clearly, the two explanations equally define the meaning of the 'verb plus noun' phrase, not the entry noun, *fame* and *temper*, respectively. We wonder why *COBUILD* did not treat "achieve fame" as a phrase (see also 6.2).

4.1.2.4. The *COBUILD* dictionaries use in the definition such pronouns as *you* and *someone* carefully according to the meaning of the entry word. This is also true for the new edition. Some definitions were re-written to improve them. Here is an example¹⁾:

murder

1st ed. (def. 2) If you **murder** someone, you kill them deliberately and in an unlawful way.

2nd ed. (def. 2) To **murder** someone means to commit the crime of killing them deliberately.

"If you **murder** someone" is in fact an awkward expression. The awkwardness was avoided in the latter definition, which does not tell the user, however, if it is possible to say in a normal context, "A hungry crocodile

1) Other examples are **diddle**, **hostile**, and **send . . . to Coventry** (s.v. **Coventry**).

murdered the poor man". The learner has to make up for the missing information himself; "to commit the crime of killing" is a clue to the answer. "If someone **murders** another person, they kill them deliberately . . ." could have been an alternative explanation.¹⁾

The alternative definition above reminds us of problems in the use of such personal pronouns as *they*, *their*, and *them* with reference to a single antecedent. This was what made many reviewers, particularly language teachers, unhappy. Among them Piotrowski (1988: 254) pointed out that such uses could be confusing, as in the above (fake) definition. In the next example the controversial *they* has been avoided:

pretender

1st ed. A **pretender** is someone who claims the right to a particular position which they do not have, when their claim is disputed by other people.

2nd ed. A **pretender** to a position is someone who claims the right to that position, and whose claim is disputed by others.

The first edition also used *he or she*, as in the following extract, which is obviously an awkward definition:

parole

1st ed. (def. 1) If a prisoner is given **parole**, he or she is freed before their prison sentence is due to end, on condition that he or she behaves well.

This has been re-written wisely with a plural noun head²⁾:

2nd ed. (def. 1) When prisoners are given **parole**, they are released before their prison sentence is due to end, on condition that they behave well.

It seems that the COBUILD team were careful enough to review their definitions with respect to the uses of pronouns.

Incidentally, the informal use of *you* has become common; other EFL dictionaries have followed suit³⁾.

1) The latter is not a very good sentence definition where an explanatory verb *mean* is used. See 4.1.2.2.

2) Also note that "If" has been replaced with "When".

3) See **inviting** in *LDCE*³ and *CIDE*, for example.

4.1.2.5. Generally speaking, definitions in the new edition are simpler and easier to read than those in the first edition. However, simple definitions are not necessarily better definitions. We have found some 'too simple' definitions in the current edition.

It is desirable to avoid superfluous words and phrases:

inculcate

1st ed. If you **inculcate** something such as an idea or an opinion in someone's mind, . . .

2nd ed. If you **inculcate** an idea or opinion in someone's mind, . . .

or unnecessary repetitions:

bet

1st ed. (def. 1) If you **bet** on a future event such as a horse race or **bet** someone an amount of money, you agree with someone an amount of money that they will give to you if the event happens in the way you have predicted, or that you will give to them if it doesn't. People sometimes bet on the result of a horse race or a sports match.

2nd ed. (def. 1) If you **bet** on the result of a horse race, football match, or other event, you give someone a sum of money which they give you back with extra money if the result is what you predicted, or which they keep if it is not.

However, too simple definitions are not helpful, where necessary information, either linguistic or encyclopaedic, is omitted¹⁾:

hill

1st ed. (def. 1) A **hill** is an area of land that is higher than the land that surrounds it, but not as high as a mountain.

2nd ed. (def. 1) A **hill** is an area of land that is higher than the land that surrounds it.

1) Also compare: "A **mountain** is a very large raised part of the earth's surface with steep sides which are usually difficult to climb" (1st ed. def. 1); "A **mountain** is a very high area of land with steep sides" (2nd ed. def. 1).

4.1.2.6. It is surprising that the 'Word Not In rule' (Landau 1984: 129) is sometimes broken even in *COBUILD*, which has been compiled almost totally by means of computers. For instance, to define *cocoa* the first edition used *cacao*, which was undefined. In the second edition, in which *cacao* is not included, the *cacao* has been replaced with "a tropical tree" in that entry.

However, at **HIV**, for instance, *immunodeficiency* is an undefined word. The lexicographer is unavoidably faced with the dilemma of whether or not to show a full spelling for abbreviations including such uncommon technical terms.¹⁾

4.1.3. Defining Vocabulary The *COBUILD* series has not put any restrictions on the vocabulary used in explaining meanings (cf. Kojima et al. 1989: 96). "Carefully selected defining vocabulary", says the back cover of the second edition as one of the eight distinctive features. Has the new edition used restricted defining vocabulary?

The answer is "No". In fact, there is a clever explanation in the introduction²⁾: "... a natural defining vocabulary with *most* words in our definitions being amongst the 2,500 commonest words of English" (italics added). Ms Fox admitted that they had not adopted a defining vocabulary system.³⁾ Theoretically, each lexicographer was allowed to use any word when necessary.

Is this 'cheating'? She asked me, however, how different *LDCE* is from *COBUILD*. Longman lexicographers are permitted to use virtually any word by simply printing it in small capitals, aren't they? She is right.

After all, the basic rule should be: Avoid using uncommon 'difficult' words when they are the key words in understanding the meaning of the word defined. Thus, *savoury* in the following excerpt would not cause serious trouble:

1) Like *COBUILD*², *OALD*³ has used the same undefined technical term, while *LDCE*³ has avoided showing the full spelling of *HIV*. *CIDE* gives entry status to *immunodeficiency*.

2) *COBUILD*², p. xviii.

3) Personal communication.

parsley

*COBUILD*²: ... used for flavouring or decorating savoury food.

*LDCE*³: ... used in cooking or as decoration on food

In this case *COBUILD* offers extra information by using it. Nevertheless, we have to say that 'difficult' words can easily make foreign learners feel uncomfortable.

4.2. Separating and Ordering Different Senses

4.2.1. 'Superheadwords' The new edition has given up the 'one word, one entry' policy¹⁾ of the original edition by introducing a new feature called 'superheadwords'.²⁾ It is welcomed because we were often "irritated"³⁾ by that strict policy.

Incidentally, the new edition is more 'user-friendly' with such entries as **new**, **parrot**, and **take**, where **news**, **parrot-fashion**, and **take a bath** are now all given headword status.⁴⁾

4.2.2. Separation of Senses and 'Sub-paragraphs' As mentioned in 4.1.1.1, senses of a polysemous lexeme, whether it is a single word or a set phrase, are now clearly divided from each other. This is a decision that will be welcomed by many users. When two or more meanings are felt not to be related to each other, whether etymologically related or not, they should be separated clearly in an EFL dictionary. A naïve user might otherwise wonder how similar "a lively folk dance" is to "a device that holds something in position",⁵⁾ for instance.

How we may know when a single lexeme has one meaning alone and when it has two or more quite discrete meanings is an annoying problem that linguists and lexicographers have been, and are, trying to answer. The first edition often allocated a separate paragraph or sub-paragraph to each

1) *COBUILD*², p. x.

2) See 2.3.2–2.3.3 for a close examination.

3) *COBUILD*², p. x.

4) The last is under a superheadword "used with nouns describing actions".

5) *COBUILD*¹, s.v. **jig**, def. 1.1 and def. 1.3, respectively. They are now under def. 1 and def. 3, respectively, in the second edition.

sense, even though each one is obviously related to other senses (e.g. **breathless**). It seems to be a basic rule of the second edition that related senses should be explained together in the same paragraph.

The lexicographer should take selectional restrictions into account when he explains related senses in a single paragraph. In the following entry this rule is carelessly broken¹⁾:

cockpit (2nd ed.)

In an aeroplane or racing car, the **cockpit** is the part where the pilot sits.

Perhaps this is a rare example; one of the good features of the COBUILD dictionaries is its clear separation of senses according to selectional restrictions (and typical collocations) (cf. Kojima et al. 1989: 99–100). Here is such an example²⁾:

die

1st ed. **3** When things **die**, they function or burn more and more slowly and eventually stop completely.

2nd ed. **4** When a machine or device **dies**, it stops completely, . . .

5 When a fire or light **dies**, it stops burning . . .

4.2.3. Order of Different Senses It was explained in the first edition how senses were arranged,³⁾ but the original edition was surprisingly inconsistent. According to the Introduction, colloquial expressions *I bet*, etc. were put third in the entry for **bet**, even though they occurred most frequently in the corpus. This was because *bet* in these phrases is not used as its “central, core meaning”.⁴⁾ However, phrases like *of course* and *on the contrary* were listed first at the entries for **course** and **contrary**, respectively.

We looked for similar explanations in the new edition only to find very concise notes, which say, “**Phrases**: usually the last paragraph or paragraphs of an entry, before phrasal verbs . . . **Phrasal verbs**: in alphabetical

1) This sense was separated into two sub-paragraphs in the first edition.

2) Compare *COBUILD*² with *LDCE*³ and *OALD*⁵ in this respect.

3) *COBUILD*¹, pp. viii–ix, p. xix. See also Kojima et al. (1989: 97).

4) *COBUILD*¹, p. xix.

order at the end of an entry . . .”¹⁾ The second edition seems to have obeyed the above principles fairly faithfully. Now *on the contrary* is listed fourth and fifth, and *of course* is given headword status.

However, there are exceptions. The phrases *regardless of* and *since time immemorial/from time immemorial* are still listed first under **regardless** and **immemorial**, respectively. This is perhaps because the second meaning of *immemorial* is usually used in a literary context (so it has an appropriate usage label) and the “of” in *regardless of* is regarded as a strong collocate.²⁾

In fact, it is not at all unusual that ‘central, core meanings’ do not come first in the second edition (e.g. **bastard**, **bitch**, and **fuck**). There frequency is considered more important than semantic relationships between meanings, which we do not think an ideal decision from lexicographers of a foreign learner’s dictionary.

(K. Nakamoto)

5. Usage

5.1. Usage Labels

The COBUILD dictionaries indicate geographical and stylistic differences in terms not of ‘labels’ but of ‘phrases’ in accordance with the strict rule that meanings are all explained by full sentences. The new edition is no exception. In this review article, however, by ‘usage labels’ are meant these ‘usage phrases’.

There is one respect in which the dictionary has been improved: now the dictionary provides the user with a list of geographical and style labels,³⁾ which contains much more information than the very brief guide in the first edition.⁴⁾

According to this list, the second edition has employed two geographical labels⁵⁾ and 11 style labels.⁶⁾

1) *COBUILD*², p. xvi.

2) Cf. *COBUILD*², p. x, p. xviii.

3) *COBUILD*², pp. xx–xxi.

4) *COBUILD*¹, p. xi.

5) Namely, ‘British English’ and ‘American English’.

6) Namely, ‘formal’, ‘informal’, ‘journalism’, ‘legal’, ‘literary’, ‘medical’, ‘offensive’, ‘old-fashioned’, ‘spoken’, ‘technical’, and ‘written’.

It has also used such labels as 'used showing approval/disapproval' to indicate the speaker's (or writer's) attitudes and feelings. These 'quasi-labels' are explained in another part of the Introduction.¹⁾

It is essential to list and define all the labels used in a dictionary. In fact, the first edition defined its usage labels, not in the introductory guides, but in the normal dictionary section as a part of the sense of the word used as a label. For instance, the label 'formal' was explained as follows (def. 1):

Formal speech or behaviour is very correct and serious rather than relaxed friendly, and is used for example in official situations or when you are talking to someone important. In this dictionary, language of this kind is indicated by the use of the word 'formal' in definitions

The user might have found this explanation only by chance. Besides, 'formal', 'informal', and 'literary' were defined, but 'humorous', 'offensive', and 'old-fashioned' were not. The second edition is much more 'user-friendly' in this respect.

It seems that the new edition has dropped 'label modifiers' such as *very*, *fairly*, and *rather* that express varying degrees of formality, etc., thus making usage labels simpler²⁾

	1st ed.	2nd ed.
eyeful	(def. 2) very informal	informal
accolade	fairly formal	formal
kin	rather old-fashioned	old-fashioned

We doubt the usefulness of these 'label modifiers' when they are used without any comparison. Thus simpler labels of the second edition are preferred.³⁾ However, the second edition has employed such modifiers as *mainly*⁴⁾ and *especially*.⁵⁾

1) *COBUILD*², p. xxxvi.

2) Cf. Kojima et al. (1989: 104).

3) *CULD* is a pioneering work in which synonyms of different stylistic values are occasionally shown introduced by the phrases 'more/less formal than . . .', as in "*more formal than be sorry*" (s.v. **regret**) and "*less formal than telephone*" (s.v. **phone**).

4) E.g. "used mainly in American English" (s.v. **push-up**).

5) E.g. "used especially by children" (s.v. **wee** def. 2).

5.1.1. Stylistic Labels

5.1.1.1. As mentioned above, the current edition has used 'quasi-labels', the labels not listed in the front guide¹⁾:

piggy

1st ed. (def. 2) . . . ; a rather childish use.

2nd ed. (def. 1) . . . ; used by children

This kind of information about the 'users' of a particular word is often supplied as a part of a defining sentence:

pussy

1st ed. (def. 1) A **pussy** or a **pussycat** is the same as a cat; used in informal English, often by children or when you are talking to children.

2nd ed. (def. 1) Children or people talking to children often refer to a cat as a **pussy**.

These two explanations virtually contain the same amount of information (except that about formality; **pussycat** has a different entry in the second edition).

In the following entry, however, the latter explanation is considered better, even though "big robberies" is a very useful piece of information, because the user has to 'decode' the meaning of the "of" used in the former definition and because "often used of . . ." is NOT a usage label but a part of the meaning of the word defined²⁾:

mastermind

1st ed. (def. 2) The **mastermind** is the person who is responsible for planning and organizing a difficult or complicated activity; often used *of* criminals who plan big robberies. (italics added)

2nd ed. The **mastermind** behind a difficult or complicated plan, often a criminal one, is the person who is responsible for planning and organizing it.

1) See *COBUILD*², pp. xx-xxi.

2) Here, too, 'use(d)' is very confusing. See 4.1.2.2.

5.1.1.2. The new label 'journalism' could have been replaced with similar explanatory notes mentioned in the preceding section, for instance, 'used (mainly) by journalists'.¹⁾ In fact, all the field labels could be replaced with a simple phrase 'used (mainly) by . . . '.

If used alone the label 'technical' is not very useful for the foreign learner. It does not tell him in which field the headword is (mainly) used:

curvature²⁾

The **curvature** of something is its curved shape, especially when this shape is part of the circumference of a circle; a technical word.

In such cases, the COBUILD dictionary, both editions, usually specifies a particular field by means of the phrase 'in ...', as in "a technical term in music" (s.v. **fugue**).

However, there is a problem. Are *coda*, *full-back*, and *synergy* 'technical terms' in music, rugby or football, and business, respectively?³⁾

coda (def. 2) : In music, a **coda** is . . .

full-back : In rugby or football, a **full-back** is . . .

synergy : . . . ; used mainly by business people.

5.1.1.3. The helpful label 'spoken' could have been used much more generously. There are inconsistencies: **school kid**, **whoops** (EXCLAM), and **to cut a long story short** are all "used in spoken English", but **chap**, **whoopee** (EXCLAM), **hi** (CONVENTION), and **to be frank** (**with you**) are not. Shouldn't 'spoken' be given to any lexeme with the grammatical label 'EXCLAM' or 'CONVENTION'?

5.1.2. **Geographical Labels** The reviewers criticised the first edition for its poor coverage of American English and its bias towards British English.⁴⁾

Now a huge corpus named 'The Bank of English' is accessible to the

COBUILD lexicographers. Does it cover American usage fairly well?

Unfortunately, they admit that the corpus is still heavily dependent on British sources. The introduction says, "Although most of the sources are British, approximately 25% of our data comes from American English sources".¹⁾ The percentage is obviously not high enough.

However, the COBUILD dictionary has been much improved in this respect. A random sampling test prompts the rough conclusion that the new edition marks more British expressions as such. In the first edition, American terms were often simply replaced by their unmarked British equivalents.²⁾ But now they are fully defined; typically, both British and American uses are defined in their entries, an American equivalent being given in the British entry, and vice versa³⁾:

lift (def. 7)

In British English, a **lift** is a device that carries people or goods up and down inside tall buildings. The American word is **elevator**.

elevator

In American English, an **elevator** is device [*sic*] that carries people up and down inside buildings. The usual British word is **lift**.

This is an ideal method, except for its unhappy mistakes and inconsistencies, to indicate the two varieties of English. However, there remain lexicographic 'bugs' in the current edition, as in the original edition. For instance, if you look up **trolley** (def. 1), you know it is a British word and that its American equivalent is *cart*. However, if you happen to look up **cart** (def. 4), you will never know its British equivalent is *trolley*.⁴⁾ Another example is **subway** (def. 1). An opposite case is **the box** (s.v. **box** def. 6), where its American equivalent, *the tube* (cf. s.v. **tube** def. 5), is not shown, while the latter entry does give that British expression. The entry for **bank holiday** tells the user that its American term is *national holiday*, but it is

1) See **wild child** in 4.1.2.3.

2) The same definition and label are given in both editions.

3) The excerpts are all from the second edition.

4) See Hausmann and Gorbahn (1989: 53), for example.

1) COBUILD², p. xii.

2) See **hood**, **muffler**, and **streetcar**, for example. Cf. Kojima et al. (1989: 105).

3) It is obvious, however, that the following two definitions were written by different lexicographers. Don't elevators carry goods?

4) It is of course good that both *trolley* and *cart* are defined in each entry.

not included in the dictionary.¹⁾ It is hoped that both British and American entries will be checked thoroughly by the COBUILD lexicographers.

About 5% of the data stored in 'The Bank of English' comes from sources of "other varieties of English — such as Australian and Singapore".²⁾ No such geographical labels as 'Australian' and 'Singapore' are used, however, perhaps because the data is not large enough. This is all right at least for Japanese learners of English, who definitely need much more information about American English.

5.2. Usage Notes

Unlike other EFL dictionaries (e.g. *LDCE* and *OALD*), neither the first nor the second edition of *COBUILD* contains 'Usage Notes' as such. Information about usage is usually given under usage labels (mentioned above) and/or a 'PRAGMATICS' label. Warnings are sometimes given before or after the definition, particularly in entries for four-letter words.

By avoiding usage columns, however, the *COBUILD* dictionary suffers a serious disadvantage: it cannot explain semantic, grammatical, and collocational differences between synonymous lexemes. Synonyms are scattered all through the alphabetical word list. Occasionally, a synonymous word is given in the Extra Column being introduced by the equal symbol (=). However, it is not very helpful. The dictionary does not tell the user about the differences between *travel*, *journey*, *trip*, and *voyage*, for instance.

(K. Nakamoto)

6. Examples

The Introduction to the new edition says that the examples first and foremost "show the characteristic phrasing round the word" — in other words, they give "a full display of the usage of the word".³⁾ This is possible because the *COBUILD* style of defining makes definitions clear enough in themselves.

- 1) Another example is **double cream** — *heavy cream*.
- 2) *COBUILD*², p. xii.
- 3) *COBUILD*², p. ix.

Several questions should be posed: Are examples really 'authentic' so that they reflect typical uses of a headword? Which is more important in a foreign learner's dictionary, 'authenticity' or 'understandability'? Are definitions so clear that the user does not have to rely on examples as a short cut to the meaning? How indeed are sentence definitions different from examples?

6.1. Authenticity

The first edition's examples were criticised, often in a very negative tone, by its reviewers, among whom were Hausmann and Gorbahn (1989: 46) who listed seven "weaknesses" in them. Their criticism was directed particularly at the *COBUILD*'s claims that the dictionary represents authentic or 'real' English. According to them, authentic examples "often sound strange", "detract from the actual definition of a word", and "reflect a very idiosyncratic use of the English language" (Hausmann and Gorbahn 1989: 46).

"All of the examples in this book [i.e. the second edition] are newly selected from The Bank of English".¹⁾ Is this because the examples in the previous edition were criticised, or because they were totally unsuitable or even incorrect?

Of course, not. The dictionary explains that the examples were all replaced simply because "this is a completely new edition".²⁾ Ms Fox said that by replacing older examples with new ones the new edition can present different data and thus becomes a supplementary reference book.³⁾ What a good idea! What a wise commercial strategy!

The 'authentic' examples shown in the second edition must be more reliable; the corpus on which it depends contains over 200 million words. The corpus must be large enough to show "typical grammatical patterns, typical vocabulary, and typical contexts".⁴⁾

It should be noted that occasionally "very minor changes" have been

- 1) *COBUILD*², p. ix.
- 2) *COBUILD*², p. xxii.
- 3) Personal communication.
- 4) *COBUILD*², p. xxii.

made to the examples directly taken from the corpus.¹⁾ However, the present reviewer's rough impression is that the COBUILD examples are still rather 'difficult'.

6.1.1. 'Difficult' Words Used in the Examples As in the defining sentences,²⁾ if any 'difficult' word, whose meaning is 'difficult' for the learner to understand, is used in an example, it will become a 'difficult' example. This is particularly true for cases where the word is a 'key word', the meaning of which needs to be known already for an understanding of the whole meaning of the example. No example could be used by the learner for encoding purposes unless it is correctly understood. For instance, *lucrative* is a key word for understanding the following example: *It was quite a lucrative sideline* (s.v. **sideline**, def. 1).

It is unrealistic to restrict the vocabulary used in the examples (as *LDCE*¹ did), but it is equally unrealistic NOT to restrict it in a foreign learner's dictionary. We believe that editorial adaptation, "very minor" or not, is unavoidable even if this spoils the authenticity of the examples. The lexicographer would otherwise have to look for the best possible example often from almost intolerably long concordance lines.

Uncommon proper nouns should be avoided, unless they are defined (or explained) in the dictionary:

Scholars have debated whether or not Yagenta became a convert (s.v. **debate**, def. 3)

The flat-pack units are by Gower kitchens (s.v. **flat pack**)

In the above examples, *Yagenta* and *Gower* can easily distract an innocent learner's attention.

6.1.2. Unclear Contexts The lexicographer will have to run the risk of leaving unclear the context of a particular example by taking a short passage directly from the corpus. This was an aspect many reviewers criticised after the publication of the first edition.³⁾ The third example for

1) *COBUILD*¹, p. xv; *COBUILD*², p. xxii.

2) See 4.1.3.

3) See Hausmann and Gorbahn (1989), for example.

motive, which is cited in the Introduction¹⁾ with its concordance, goes: *The doctor's motive was to bring an end to his patient's suffering*. The doctor's motive for what? It is the user who has to make up for the missing information.²⁾

Pronouns, especially *this*, *that*, and their plural forms, should be avoided, unless their antecedent is specified. What does "this" refer to in the following example: *Me and Ben should sort this out man to man* (s.v. **man**, def. 20).

6.2. Examples and Defining Sentences

The problem discussed at 4.1.2.3 can be looked at from the opposite angle: How different are the COBUILD's definitions from examples?

Here take **amnesia** for example³⁾:

*COBUILD*²: If someone is suffering from **amnesia**, they have lost their memory. *People suffering from amnesia don't forget their general knowledge of objects.*

*OALD*⁵: partial or total loss of memory: *suffer an attack of amnesia.*

The noun *amnesia* means "(partial or total) loss of memory", as *OALD*⁵ shows. On the other hand, *COBUILD* gives the meaning of the PHRASE *to be suffering from amnesia*, instead of the meaning of the WORD *amnesia*. The first half of the definition could be regarded as an example that shows "characteristic phrasing round the word". Indeed the same collocation is shown in the example sentence, which, in turn, could be regarded as a part of the definition.⁴⁾

Here is a much worse example. *COBUILD* does not tell its user what the noun **summary** means; the first paragraph explains the meaning of the phrase **in summary**, where we find a wonderfully circular definition,

1) *COBUILD*², p. xxiii.

2) Perhaps the doctor practised euthanasia on the patient who had been suffering from a terminal illness.

3) Incidentally, the new edition has abolished the example marker 'EG' that separated examples from the definition in the former edition.

4) Compare: If someone is suffering from **amnesia**, they have lost their memory, but they don't forget their general knowledge of objects.

and the second explains the adjectival use, which has a different meaning from the nominal use. To make matters worse, *summary* is also used to define its verbal form **summarize**: If you **summarize** something, you give a summary of it. How can the learner understand the examples presented there if he does not know the meaning of *summary*?

Does the COBUILD style of defining always explain meanings clearly enough? Isn't too much emphasis put on the encoding function of the defining sentence sacrificing its essential decoding function?

6.3. Other Features and Problems

6.3.1. Grammatical Patterns Unlike the first edition where grammatical labels were given to the headword itself, the second edition gives the examples "in the same order as the patterns shown in the Extra Column".¹⁾ This is virtually the same as showing grammatical labels before each example (as in *OALD*⁵). The new helpful system is mainly applied to verbal entries. In entries for nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, however, grammatical labels are basically given to the headword itself, and grammatical patterns shown in the Extra Column are not necessarily exemplified. For instance, to the second sense of **immersion** is given a grammatical label 'N-UNCOUNT: oft N in n'. The example sentence supplied shows the uncountable usage, but it does not exemplify the use with the preposition *in*.

6.3.2. Entries or Paragraphs with No Examples "Nearly all the words and meanings in the dictionary have at least one example. The main exceptions are concrete nouns . . . , and a few other words where an example would add nothing to the information given in the definition", says the Introduction.²⁾ It is a shame that restricted space often prevents the lexicographer from offering examples, even when he has a large reliable corpus from which typical and useful collocations can be taken.

Carefully chosen examples can do more than lexicographers would ex-

pect, even at entries for very popular concrete nouns. The second edition does give three examples to the first sense of **dog**: *Outside, a dog was barking, The dog growled again, and The British are renowned as a nation of dog lovers*. However, no example is shown with **cat** (def. 1), perhaps because the British like dogs better than cats! The lexicographer could have given it such examples as *Cats miaow when they are unhappy, purr when they are happy, We'll have to get someone to feed the cat when we're away on holiday, and a pet/stray cat*, the first example being taken from COBUILD² (s.v. **miaow**) and the others from *CIDE* (s.v. **cat**). We believe these examples could add something to the information given in the definition.

In COBUILD, however, the defining sentence often gives useful information. The problem, after all, is in whether the user can 'decode' that information. For instance, from the latter half of the definition of **cat** (" . . . Cats are often kept as pets") a useful collocation *keep a cat as a pet* could be found.

On the other hand, every lexicographer should consider what examples are really useful for the potential user. How useful is the following example?: *I want an apple* (s.v. **apple**, def. 1).

There are obviously more than "a few" words (other than very common nouns) to which no example is given. Take, for example, terms relating to diseases again. Since no example is provided, the user can learn which verbs typically collocate with nouns like **AIDS, Alzheimer's Disease, diabetes, haemophilia, mumps, tuberculosis, and typhus** from neither examples nor definitions (cf. 4.1.2.3).¹⁾

(K. Nakamoto)

7. Grammar

7.1. The Types of Grammar Information

Grammar information in COBUILD² are of three types: the word class of the word, restrictions or extensions to its behavior and the patterns in

1) COBUILD², p. xxii.

2) Ibid.

1) The present reviewer (Nakamoto) should like to thank Ms Gwyneth Fox, editorial director of COBUILD², for letting him visit her brand-new office for a chat with her on her team's new dictionary (on 15 August, 1995).

which the word most frequently occurs (p.xxiv). The word class appears in capital letters and the rest of the information mainly appears in small letters. The words in italics are words that occur in the structural pattern. The system of providing the information in the extra column is also employed in the new edition.

Synonyms, antonyms and superordinates also appeared in the extra column in *COBUILD*¹, but superordinates are not referred to in *COBUILD*².

In *COBUILD*¹, users had to refer to the special entries which were arranged alphabetically among other word and phrase entries in order to decipher the grammatical notations properly. However, in the new edition, all grammatical codes are explained in the front matter (p. xxiv-xxxiii) of the dictionary, as in many traditional dictionaries. This system is more user-friendly compared with that in the previous edition, for the users can consult the grammar information without looking for a certain grammatical term which appears on various pages of the dictionary.

According to the editors, efforts were made in order to simplify and improve the grammar notes in *COBUILD*² (p.xi). Some of their efforts will be examined in the following sections.

7.2. Structural Patterns

As for structural patterns, the patterns of the new edition are more minute and precise than those of *COBUILD*¹. Take the verb *declare* for example. The grammar notes for *declare* 4 in *COBUILD*¹ show that the verb is frequently used in patterns of three types: *V + O*, *V + O + C*, *V + REPORT-CL*. In *COBUILD*², the same patterns are indicated more precisely as *V n*, *V n adj*, *V that* respectively. In this edition, the last item in the second pattern, which functions as a complement, is explicitly shown as an adjective. As for the third pattern, the new code *that* is used instead of the code *REPORT-CL* to make it clear that the clause which may follow the verb is a *that* clause. In fact, the code *REPORT-CL* is no longer used in *COBUILD*² for the code was polysemous in that it represented clauses beginning with *that*, *wh* words, *if* and *whether*.

It was pointed out in the review of *COBUILD*¹ (Kojima *et al*, 1989:128)

that sometimes the patterns in the extra column did not correspond to the examples given after the definitions of words or phrases. In *COBUILD*², however, the patterns are given next to the corresponding examples, which may be regarded as an improvement in this edition. In the review, the verb *bet* was given as an example to illustrate the incongruity between the patterns in the extra column and the example sentences given after the definition. In *COBUILD*¹, the second example shows that there is a possibility that a *that* clause follows the verb, but such a pattern does not appear in the extra column. The definition also suggests the intransitive use of the verb, but an example which illustrates the use is not given after the definition. In *COBUILD*², however, the intransitive use is illustrated by the first example, and the pattern in which a *that* clause follows the verb also appears in the extra column.

7.3. New Grammar Notations

7.3.1. In order to describe the possible structural patterns precisely, the number of grammar notations has been increased to 129 in the new edition. Not only the number of word classes but also that of the words and abbreviations used for the description of patterns has been increased. The meanings of notations used in patterns seem rather easy to guess at, except *brd-neg* (broad negative), which may be unfamiliar to the users. As for word classes, however, there are some new codes the meanings of which are rather difficult to understand without referring to the explanation in the front matter.

7.3.2. *COBUILD*¹ was the first dictionary to use the category of ergative verbs in classifying verbs. Later it was recognized that there were phrasal verbs which could be regarded as ergative verbs (CEEG p.167). Those phrasal verbs are indicated by the code *ERG* in *COBUILD*². Take the phrasal verb *block up* as an example. In *COBUILD*¹, the notation for the phrasal verb is just *PHRASAL VB*. In *COBUILD*², however, the code *ERG* is attached to the notation *PHRASAL VB*. The example sentences given after the definition prove the ergativity of *block up* (p.167):

- (1) *Powdering a sweaty nose will only block up the pores and make the skin uncomfortable.*

- (2) *With this disease the veins in the liver can block up, and all sorts of damage follows.*

7.3.3. The code *V-LINK*, which stands for a link verb, is another newly introduced code in *COBUILD*². A link verb is a verb which links a subject and a complement (*CCEG* p.173). The typical examples such as *be* and *become* are indicated only as *V* in *COBUILD*¹ while they are indicated as *V-LINK* in *COBUILD*². It is noteworthy that some phrasal verbs are regarded as link verbs in the new edition. The phrasal verb *turn out* is an example (p. 1801):

It's turned out nice again.

7.3.4. In *COBUILD*², a type of verb which has both the features of an ergative verb and a link verb is recognized. They are called ergative link verbs and the code *V-LINK-ERG* is used to represent them. The verb *turn* is an example. It behaves like a link verb when it connects a subject and a complement in a pattern such as *V colour: The sea would turn pale pink and the sky blood red* (p.1799). The verb, however, can also occur in a *V n* pattern in which an ergative verb can appear: *Her contact lenses turned her eyes green* (ibid.).

7.3.5. *COBUILD*¹ was the first dictionary to recognize reciprocal verbs as a category in classifying verbs. In *COBUILD*², the existence of verbs which behave both like ergative verbs and reciprocal verbs is recognized. They are called ergative reciprocal verbs and indicated by the code *V-RECIP-ERG*. The verb *combine* is an example. The verb has the following patterns: *X and Y combined, X combined with Y, and Z combined X and Y*. It behaves like a reciprocal verb in that it can occur in the second pattern in which the two factors are involved in the process. At the same time, it can be regarded as an ergative verb, for it appears in the first and the third of the patterns (Francis and Sinclair, 1994:199).

As with ordinary verbs, some phrasal verbs are ergative reciprocal verbs. Take *pair up* as an example. There are three examples after the definition (p.1192):

- (1) *They asked us to pair up with the person next to us and form teams.*
- (2) *Men and teenage girls pair up to dance.*

- (3) *Smokers and nonsmokers are paired up as roommates.*

The example (1) is a reciprocal pattern, while the example (2) shows the intransitive pattern. The third example can be rewritten as follows:

- (4) *They paired up smokers and nonsmokers as roommates.*

The second and the fourth examples show the ergative relationship. Therefore this phrasal verb is an ergative reciprocal verb. The example (4) can again be rewritten as (5):

- (5) *They paired smokers up with nonsmokers as roommates.*

Therefore the typical patterns in which an ergative reciprocal verb occur are *pl-n v, v with n, v pl-n, and v n with n*.

7.3.6. As with ordinary verbs and phrasal verbs, some phrases are recognized as ergative phrases in *COBUILD*². The pair *to turn one's stomach/one's stomach turn* provides an example. Compare the following (p.1642):

- (1) *The true facts will turn your stomach.*
- (2) *I saw the shots of what happened on television and my stomach just turned over.*

Since the phrase can occur in both *V n* and *V* patterns, it is classified as *PHR-ERG* in *COBUILD*².

7.3.7. The concept of ergativity is not the only concept which has been extended to phrases in *COBUILD*². *COBUILD*² considers some phrases as reciprocal phrases when they contain a verb, and behave like a reciprocal verb. The patterns in which *PHR-RECIP* occurs are *pl-n PHR* and *PHR with n*. The phrases *settle accounts/ settle one's accounts* are examples (p. 13):

- (1) *Their sleep is regularly disturbed by the sound of gunfire as criminal gangs settle their nightly accounts.*
- (2) *Germans could finally settle accounts with the British.*

7.3.8. A phrasal modal is another new category in *COBUILD*². It is a phrase which occurs before the infinitive form of a verb and behaves as a modal. It is indicated by the code *PHR-MODAL*. The phrases *used to* and *would rather* serve as examples. In *COBUILD*¹ the phrase *used to* is indicated as a semi-modal but *would rather* is not even recognized as a phrase.

7.3.9. A phrase which behaves like a preposition is classified as a phrasal preposition in *COBUILD*². The phrases such as *in spite of* and *according to* serve as examples. Both phrases are indicated only as *PREP* in *COBUILD*¹.

7.3.10. A phrasal coordinating conjunction is a conjunction which is combined with another word or a group of words and used in the form of a phrase. It is indicated by the code *PHR-CONJ-COORD*. Similarly, a subordinating conjunction which is combined with another word or a group of words and used in a form of a phrase is called a phrasal subordinating conjunction. The code *PHR-CONJ-SUBORD* is used to indicate it. In *COBUILD*¹, the members of the two categories are classified only as coordinating conjunction and subordinating conjunction respectively. An example of the former is *or else* and an example of the latter is *just because*:

- (1) *Evidently no lessons have been learnt or else the government would not have handled the problem so sloppily.* (p.537)
- (2) *Just because it has a good tune does not mean it is great music.* (p.135)

7.3.11. The code *PHR-* is one of the key codes among the grammar notations used in *COBUILD*². The code indicates efforts have been made to highlight the fact that phrases play an important part in English grammar. The attachment of the code *PHR-* to a certain word class sometimes provides important information for the user. Take the phrase *be able to* as an example. In *COBUILD*¹, the notation for this phrase is *ADJ CLASSIF* since it is classified according to the word class of the adjective *able*. It is not recognized that the word *able* behaves like a modal when combined with the verb *be* and used before a *to*-infinitive. In *COBUILD*², however, the fact that the adjective is used in the form of a phrase and behaves like a modal is explicitly indicated by attaching the code *PHR-MODAL* to it.

7.4. The Word Classes

The number of word classes in *COBUILD*² is very large compared with other EFL dictionaries. In fact *COBUILD*² classifies the entries into 73 categories while there are only 17 word classes in *LDCE*³. This is because

*COBUILD*² considers the restrictions or extensions to the words' behavior as a part of word class. Take the noun *committee* as an example. This noun, as we all know, can take either a singular verb or a plural verb after it. In *LDCE*³ this fact is indicated in square brackets since it is considered as an extension to the word's behavior. In *COBUILD*², however, the noun which can take either a singular verb or a plural verb is classified into an independent category. Therefore the noun *committee* is classified as a collective count noun. Another example is the noun *injustice*. This noun can be used in three forms: *injustice*, *an injustice*, and *injustices*. This fact is indicated as [C,U] in *LDCE*³ while *COBUILD*² classifies the noun as a variable noun. A variable noun is defined as a noun which combines the behavior of both count and uncountable nouns (p. xxvii).

However, this system of incorporating the restrictions or extensions to words' behavior into word classes does not seem to be user-friendly, because there is no guarantee that the users read the explanation of grammar codes in the front matter before using the dictionary. The users, therefore, may not always be able to draw out the information which concerns the behavior of the words from the word class codes. In the case of the noun *injustice*, the user is expected to find out that the singular form of the noun can be used either with or without the determiner by looking at the word class code *N-VAR*. The user, however, may not be able to figure out that the code stands for a variable noun, and even if they did, they may not be able to find out the fact that the noun has two singular forms since the word *variable* is not self-explanatory. Sometimes the information concerning the behavior of words can be inferred from the examples. However, the example sentences will be of no help in this case, for the singular form *an injustice* is not illustrated in the example sentences. Is it taken for granted that the users memorize all the meaning of word class codes in order to use *COBUILD*² effectively?

As we look at the list of word class codes in *COBUILD*², we cannot help asking the question: are they all necessary? The number of the codes just overwhelms us. Take the nouns as an example. The nouns are divided into 16 categories. Among them, there are five types which has the code *-COLL* attached. As mentioned in the above section, it may be difficult for

the users to infer from this code that this type of noun can take either a singular or plural verb. It may, therefore, be more user-friendly to provide the information in explicit notation instead. Then can the use of the code *-COLL* still be justified? After all what is the advantage of encoding the grammatical features in word class codes?

7.5. The Disadvantage of Codes and Abbreviations

The reason why *COBUILD*² uses a large number of codes and abbreviations is that the dictionary sets out the grammatical information in the extra column separate from the definitions. The codes and abbreviations are useful since they do not take up much space; a large amount of information can be set out economically in a limited space. However, the disadvantage is that not all codes and abbreviations are self-explanatory. The users give up trying to decipher the codes and abbreviations when they are not understandable at the first sight, and eventually ignore the information conveyed by them. This is a cruel fact that every lexicographer has to keep in mind.

7.6. The Possibility of Restructuring the Grammatical Information

The possibility should be considered whether some grammatical information — especially the information about the restrictions and extensions to the behavior of words — may be incorporated in the definitions just like the information on style and usage. Then the information can be indicated more explicitly without using codes and abbreviations that are difficult for the users to decipher. The possibility of the users' ignoring the grammatical information should not be overlooked, since there are users who use the dictionary to avoid making grammatical mistakes in their linguistic performance.

It is expected that the grammatical notation of *COBUILD*² will be improved and simplified even more in the next edition in pursuit of user-friendliness.

(R. Takahashi)

8. Pragmatics

8.1. Introduction

8.1.1. *COBUILD*² gives a special label **PRAGMATICS** in the Extra Column to notify readers that a given word is provided with some pragmatic information. Reasons for the inclusion of pragmatics are explained in the Introduction and in the Guide to the Dictionary Entries:

Many uses of words need more than a statement of meaning to be properly explained. . . . This aspect of language is very important, and easy to miss. This is where the language is giving added meaning.¹⁾

Different languages use different pragmatic strategies. In order to use a language effectively, and be successful in achieving your goals, you need to know what the pragmatic conventions are for that particular language. It is therefore important that learners of English are given as much information as possible about the ways in which English speakers use their language to communicate.²⁾

8.1.2. Pragmatic information in the dictionary, we believe, is very useful for advanced readers and writers of English in our country as well as for beginners. Quite often, Japanese learners do not know whether 'easy-going' in 'He is easy-going.' approves or disapproves him. In Japan, where hard working is thought much of, an easy-going attitude sounds negative rather than positive. The Japanized word for 'easy-going' implies laziness and/or irresponsibility. Pragmatic information of this sort is valuable because 'different languages use different pragmatic strategies' and therefore in many cases, learners cannot draw an analogy from their own native language.

8.1.3. Pragmatic information is not a new feature to the dictionary. According to the Preface, '*COBUILD* has always had a lot of information on pragmatics in its pages, but we have not previously drawn attention to it except in the case of insults, swear words, and things like that.'³⁾

Other learner's dictionaries also have many pieces of pragmatic informa-

- 1) Introduction xi.
- 2) Pragmatics xxxiv.
- 3) Preface xi.

tion. *LDCE*², for example, gives pragmatic information in the definition as well as in Usage Notes and in Language Notes.

8.2. Comparison of Older Editions

8.2.1. In this section, we will compare *COBUILD*¹, *LDCE*², and *OALD*⁴ in order to survey how pragmatic information is given in these dictionaries. Then we will compare *COBUILD*¹ with *COBUILD*², together with other revised learner's dictionaries to examine what improvements have been made.

A short comparison of three dictionaries will clarify the differences in treatment of pragmatic information and how they describe it. (Definitions are either omitted or simplified.)

absolutely

*LDCE*² Usage | **Absolutely** is often used to give more strength to following adjectives or verbs which are already very strong.

*OALD*⁴ 4 (used to give emphasis)

*COBUILD*¹ **1 Absolutely** is used **1.1** to emphasize what you are saying, especially when you are expressing an opinion.

of course

*LDCE*² Usage **Of Course** (= certainly) is a polite way of agreeing and showing willingness to help, in reply to requests such as. . . . But **of course** is not polite in reply to a question asking for information:

*OALD*⁴ (no pragmatic information)

*COBUILD*¹ **1** You say **of course** when you are briefly mentioning something that you expect other people already realize or understand, or when you want to indicate that you think they should realize or understand it.

3 You say **of course** as a polite way of saying yes, of giving permission, or of agreeing with someone.

if (if I were you)

*LDCE*² 5 (used when giving advice)

*OALD*⁴ **10 if I were you; if I was/were in your shoes/place** (used to introduce a piece of advice to sb)

*COBUILD*¹ **14** You say '**if I were you**' to someone when you are giving them advice.

8.2.2. Of the three dictionaries, *LDCE*² gives most information on pragmatics. In the essay on Pragmatics and the Dictionary,¹⁾ Professor Geoffrey Leech and Dr Jenny Thomas explain the importance of pragmatic information in a dictionary for learners of English.

Three means that *LDCE*² adopts to capture guidelines of pragmatic usage is: 1 Usage Notes, 2 Language Notes, and 3 Comments and examples within the entries for individual words.²⁾ Language Notes on Addressing People, Apologies, Criticism and Praise, Invitations and Offers, Politeness, Requests, Tentativeness, and Thanks concentrate mainly on pragmatics.

*LDCE*² gives labels such as *apprec*, *derog*, *euph*, *humor*, and *pomp* to show that the word suggests a particular attitude. Parentheses are also used before the definition to give another kind of pragmatic information.

8.2.3. Pragmatic information in *OALD*⁴ is less conspicuous. Like *LDCE*², it gives labels such as *approv(ing)*, *derog(atory)*, *joc(ular)*, *euph(emistic)*, etc. in parentheses. Notes on Usage sometimes include pragmatic information,³⁾ but unlike *LDCE*², *OALD*⁴ pays no special attention to pragmatic information in special columns or pages.

8.2.4. In *COBUILD*¹, information about language use is included within the entry for each word. There is no special column or parentheses that explains information on language use. All pragmatic information is inseparably incorporated in the definition of individual words. One major field of information on language use concerns the attitude of the speaker towards the words: **avaricious**, **bookish**, **kid's stuff**, **prissy**, etc. are words '(often) used showing disapproval.' Words like **ideally 2**, **principle 1** are 'used showing approval.' There are also Notes like 'offensive word, rude word, swear word,' etc. in the dictionary. Words and phrases used for apologizing, asking, inviting, thanking, warning, etc. are so described just

1) See F12.

2) See F13.

3) Refer to the Note On Usage of shall, may, etc.

the same way the meanings of the word are given: **wish** 6 People sometimes say 'I don't wish to be rude,' 'I don't wish to interrupt,' etc. as a way of apologizing or of warning you before they say something which they think might upset, worry, or annoy you. There are words and phrases used for functions such as discourse organizers, emphasis, etc.: **way** 25 You say **by the way** 25.1 when you add something to what you are saying, especially a question or piece of information that you have just thought of.

8.3. Comparison of New Editions

8.3.1. Contrary to the policy adopted by *COBUILD*², *LDCE*³ has reduced a considerable part of its information on pragmatics. It has totally abandoned the Language notes. Usage notes on language use are much reduced. Instead, some are incorporated in the entry. Pragmatic information in the entry formerly given in parentheses remains (but without parentheses). *LDCE*³ gives no reason why it has abolished Language Notes and has reduced other pragmatic information. It may have been deleted to create space for new information such as frequency, new phrases and collocations. Or, there might be some more radical reasons. The editors and lexicographers might have found that there is little significance in incorporating such pragmatic information in the dictionary. Anyway, it is a loss.

8.3.2. *OALD*⁵ has not changed its policy on pragmatics. Some information in parentheses is enriched but much remains essentially the same. One page of the language Study is devoted to Polite expressions.

8.4. Pragmatic Information in the New Edition of *COBUILD*

8.4.1. The New Edition of *COBUILD* has greatly enriched pragmatic information. The way *COBUILD*² has employed it is:

- (a) to show this (pragmatic information) in the extra column with the word **PRAGMATICS** and
- (b) to include additional information in the definition about how, when, and why the word or expression is used.

Our survey sampling on 196 pages (10% of the dictionary pages) shows that there are 2.2 pragmatic labels on every page. This means there are about 4300 pragmatic labels in the dictionary. *COBUILD*² classifies prag-

matic information into six major types. They are Functions, Discourse organizers, Speaker/hearer relationship, Attitudes and feelings, Emphasis, and Expressing certainty and uncertainty.¹⁾ Although some information such as attitudes and feelings are incorporated in the definition, the dictionary does not provide any overt distinction between most of these pragmatic information types. So readers must decide by themselves what sort of pragmatic information is provided in each case.

8.4.2. Dictionary definitions that give various types of pragmatic information typically begin the defining sentences as follows.

Functions:

You can say '**I wonder**' if you want to be very polite when you are asking someone to do something, or . . . / If you tell someone to **watch out**, you are warning them to be careful, because . . .

Discourse organizers:

You use **added to this** or **added to that** to introduce a fact that . . . / When you are talking, you can say that something **brings** you to a particular point in order to indicate that you have now reached that point and are going to talk about a new subject.

Speaker/hearer relationship:

People sometimes say **sir** as a very formal and polite way of addressing a man whose name they do not know or a man of superior rank. / You call someone **darling** if you love them or like them very much.

Attitudes and feelings:

If you refer to a group of people as a **charmed circle**, you disapprove of the fact that . . . / If you describe something as **masterly**, you admire it . . .

Emphasis:

You use **need** in expressions such as **I need hardly say** and **I needn't add** to emphasize to the person you are talking to that . . . / If you describe something as **perfectly** good or acceptable, you are emphasizing that . . .

Expressing certainty and uncertainty:

1) See p. xxxiv-xxxvii for details.

You say '**Not that I know of**' when someone has asked you whether or not something is true and you think the answer is 'no' but you can not be sure . . . / You can use **far** in expressions like '**as far as I know**' and '**so far as I know**' and '**so far as I remember**' to indicate that you are not absolutely sure of . . .

8.4.3. A large amount of information on functions, discourse organizers, speaker/hearer relationship, and certainty and uncertainty originates in *COBUILD*¹ (information on the emphatic use may be new). **Speaking**, for example, has three pragmatics labels in *COBUILD*²: 1 **speaking as** a parent/a teacher . . . to indicate that the opinion you are giving is . . . , 2 **speaking of** . . . as a way of introducing a new topic which . . . 3 **generally speaking/technically speaking** to indicate the range or relevance. . . . Similar information is given in the definition of *COBUILD*¹: 1 You use **speaking** with an adverb when you are defining the way you are describing something, **2.1** to indicate what your position or viewpoint is in what you are saying, **2.2** to introduce a new topic, by . . .

Many new pieces of pragmatic information are added in *COBUILD*². Just a few examples (in a simplified form) will suffice for the illustration: be of **advanced** years (you are saying in a polite way), **advisable** (you are suggesting), **blackmail** (you disapprove), someone **jumps to a conclusion** (you are critical), **in broad daylight** (you are expressing your surprise), etc.

8.5. For Improvement

8.5.1. The presentation of pragmatic information in the way above stated may be not very helpful for the learners because the distinction between the meaning and the use of the word is unclear. For instance, the twentieth sense of **with** is defined as 'If someone says that they are **with** you, they mean that they understand what you are saying.' This sense is marked with a pragmatic label, but the pragmatic information implied here is not easy for learners to figure out. They may be not able to tell which part of the explanation is the lexical meaning of the word and which part is the pragmatic information. If the expression implies 'encouraging,' the dictionary should note that in the text.

The distinction between the lexical meaning of the word and the pragmatic information is very important for the dictionary, because the lexical meaning is inherent in the word while in many cases, the utterance meaning results from the context. Thus, the learners will wonder if the uncertainty expressed in the second sense of **think** is a part of the lexical meaning or derived from the use of the word: If you say that you **think** that something is true or will happen, you mean that you have the impression that it is true or will happen, although you are not certain of the facts.

To distinguish pragmatic information from the definition, conventional parentheses may be an easy way of doing so. Another easy way is to give information after the definition, separated by the semicolon as in 'Someone who is **balanced** remains calm and thinks clearly, even in a difficult situation; used showing approval.' This is the method both *COBUILD*¹ and *COBUILD*² have adopted for words that have a functional use such as in conveying the speakers' viewpoint. We believe all pragmatic information should be explicitly explained, i.e. what pragmatic information each illustrative sentence conveys.

8.5.2. Some pieces of information on pragmatics are inconsistent. Words used for addressing like **darling, madam, sonny, sir**, etc. have pragmatic labels, but there are similar words used for addressing but have no label: **daddy, mummy, honey**, etc. **Push in** has a pragmatic label that says that it is used showing disapproval, but **push around** has no label. The word is explained as 'If someone **pushes** you **around**, they give you orders in a rude and insulting way' with an illustrative example: *We don't like somebody coming in with lots of money and trying to push people around.* The third definition of **rotten** is 'If you describe someone as **rotten**, you are insulting them or criticizing them because you think that they are very unpleasant or unkind.' Don't these words deserve pragmatic labels?

8.5.3. Before concluding this section, we have to consider what kind of pragmatic information should be incorporated in the dictionary, and what should be left out. If pragmatics derives from each sentence rather than the word/phrase in the sentence, then should a dictionary give such information? The eleventh definition of **easy**, for example, has a pragmatic label: If you tell someone to **go easy on**, or **be easy on**, a particular person, you

are telling them not to punish or treat that person very severely. 'Go easy on him,' Sam repeated, opening the door. . . . Be a little easier on yourself and enjoy yourself more. . . . From the definition and the illustrative examples, we can assume that pragmatic information implied here is 'advising.' Obviously, this is not the case in the next illustration given in the same paragraph. *This agency has been far too easy on the timber industry over the years.* This second sentence may have some other pragmatic information such as 'criticizing.' Is it the phrase **go easy on/be easy on** or the sentence itself that has the extra meaning? If the sentences that have pragmatic information should be noted in the dictionary, where can we stop? Professor Geoffrey Leech and Dr Jenny Thomas write that 'the very same words (Is that your car?) can be used to complain, to express admiration, or to express disapproval.'¹⁾

Generally, sentence forms such as imperatives and quasi-imperatives have special import. *Longman English Grammar*, for example, lists nine common uses of the imperatives. They are: 1 Direct commands, requests, suggestions. 2 Warnings. 3 Directions. 4 Instructions. 5 Prohibitions. 6 Advice. 7 Invitations. 8 Offers. 9 Expressing rudeness.²⁾ Imperatives including the above stated *go easy on*, *be easy on*, and *take it easy*, etc. addressed for the benefit of the person spoken to (or for the third party) usually imply 'advice, offers, suggestions, and invitations,' the inference deduced from the so called Politeness Principle.³⁾

Pragmatic information of this sort may be better explained with its context on special pages as in Language Notes in *LDCE*², so that readers can grasp the speakers' intention more easily.

8.5.4. We appreciate *COBUILD*²'s attempt to give comprehensive information on language use based on The Bank of English. Now that *LDCE*³ has greatly reduced pragmatic information, *COBUILD*² is the only major dictionary that provides learners with detailed information. We hope that editors of *COBUILD*² will improve, refine, and give further information on language use. (H. Masuda)

1) *LDCE*³ F12 Pragmatics and Dictionary.

2) See p. 185.

3) Leech (1983) explains this in terms of a COST-BENEFIT SCALE. See p. 107.

9. Summary

According to the backcover, *COBUILD*² covers over 75,000 references with 4,000 new words and meanings. The figure, like other dictionaries, seems to include all the information in bold face. The estimated main entries number only 33,752. The main area of new words comes from compounds, of which many are labeled as 'American.' Another area of new words comes from informal words. This might be the result of the improvement in the corpus that has focused considerable effort on the inclusion of the spoken languages.

*COBUILD*² has introduced *Superheadwords* to divide polysemous words. Although this is a welcome innovation, the policy for the introduction of *Superheadwords* is unclear and is inconsistent. Sometimes they are meaning-oriented, sometimes they are word-class-oriented. Sometimes words are unnecessarily divided under the different *Superheadwords*.

The adoption of *Frequency Bands* in the Extra column is another welcome innovation. If frequency indexes were put next to each distinct meaning of a word, they would be more helpful.

The prescriptive principle on which the suggested pronunciations are chosen characterizes the revision from the previous edition to the current one. Instead of describing how each word is pronounced as it is, using a complicated transcription system with superscript numerals as in the previous edition, the present edition attempts, whenever possible, to give a single pronunciation model for non-native learners to follow. This is a reasonable choice for a dictionary compiled for non-native learners of English, and this feature, together with the use of italicization for vowel reduction and the unique description of stress with underlining, makes this dictionary a good reference for RP pronunciation. Although GenAm pronunciation is included within the scope of the new edition, the description leaves some room for improvement, both in terms of accuracy (3.1) and the transcription system (3.2).

Thanks to the new layout, the sought for meaning has become much easier to find. It is especially helpful because all the meanings now start on a new line. The style of definitions in *COBUILD*² may be more informative than the one employed in most conventional dictionaries because

selectional restrictions and typical collocations of the entry words can be given in a natural sequence of words. Since definitions correspond to the grammatical labels in the Extra Column in most cases in the second edition, it has become more helpful than *COBUILD*¹.

However, it may be high time for all of us to think about both the good and bad aspects of defining sentences. The second edition can be criticized in two respects. (1) There seems to be no consistent rule for applying a variety of defining formulae to the specific case. (2) Many of *COBUILD*'s 'explanations' do NOT define the headword (especially in the noun entries). Instead, they explain the whole meaning of a phrase which consists of the headword and other elements. Some such phrases are treated as 'phrases' (hence, with a grammatical label 'PHRASES'), while other similar phrases have no label. We do not see any difference between them.

As far as the arrangement of senses is concerned, *COBUILD*² is heavily dependent on frequency as a guide to decide which of them should come first. Although *COBUILD*²'s frequency-based sense order should be appreciated, we believe it should not be applied too rigidly.

*COBUILD*² has defined and listed (almost) all the usage labels in the front matter. We welcome this. However, they are not 'labels' per se but explanatory notes. The style of presentation itself is acceptable, but the problem is that the dictionary is not consistent in this respect, either. Technical terms are described as such by means either of the label ('technical' with or without a specific field indication which is introduced by an 'in . . .' phrase) or of an explanatory note about the 'users' of the headword by means of a 'used by . . .' formula. The label 'spoken' seems to have been applied with no definite rule. It is good that the second edition marks British usage more often than the first edition.

*COBUILD*² is different from other similar learner's dictionaries in that it does not contain any 'usage notes', which are often used to explain semantic and other differences between synonymous lexemes.

Examples, reportedly all replaced by new ones, are often as difficult as those in the original edition, and there are examples the contexts of which are not clear. It is regrettable that the same criticism has to be repeated of the current edition.

It is also regrettable that there are more than "a few" entries where no example is given which could add 'something' to the information given in the definition.

There are three types of grammatical information in *COBUILD*²: the word class of the word, restrictions or extensions to its behavior, and the patterns in which the word most frequently occurs (p. xxiv). The word class is given in capital letters while the rest of the information is written mainly in small letters. The system of using the Extra Column to set out grammar notations is also employed in the new edition.

*COBUILD*¹ was the first dictionary to use the concept of ergativity and reciprocity in order to classify verbs. In *COBUILD*² the existence of ergative reciprocal verbs is recognized. It is noteworthy that the ergativity and reciprocity of phrases are also recognized in *COBUILD*². The fact that phrases play an important part in English grammar is highlighted in the new edition.

*COBUILD*² uses a large number of codes and abbreviations in the grammatical notation. However, not all of them are self-explanatory. When the codes are not understandable at first sight, the users tend to give up deciphering the codes and eventually ignore the information conveyed by them. This should not be overlooked. It is expected that some of the grammatical information be explained in the definition and the use of hard-to-decipher codes be avoided in the next edition.

Pragmatics, a new feature to *COBUILD*², aims at giving information such as speaker's intention, emotion, emphasis, certainty and uncertainty, etc. to learners. Although some pieces of information on pragmatics were given in *COBUILD*¹ as part of its definition, and in other learner's dictionaries as well, information given in *COBUILD*² far exceeds that given in any of these other dictionaries. This information, we believe, plays an important role in the Dictionary because pragmatic strategies differ from language to language. Since it is a relatively new dictionary feature, inconsistency is unavoidable. Distinctions should be made in the defining sentences between the lexical meaning of the word and the utterance meaning. Editors should think very hard when deciding what sort of pragmatic information should most properly be given in the dictionary. Some sen-

tences have extra meanings that can be deduced from the general rule of pragmatics rather than from the particular word/phrase in the sentences. Shouldn't a dictionary give extra pages to explain them in those cases, instead of attributing 'meaning' to the word/phrase in question?

DICTIONARIES

- CCEG* *Collins COBUILD English Grammar*. London and Glasgow: Collins ELT, 1990.
CIDE *Cambridge International Dictionary of English*. Cambridge: CUP, 1995.
*COBUILD*¹ *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary*. London & Glasgow: Collins ELT, 1987.
*COBUILD*² *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary, New Edition*. London: Harper-Collins, 1995.
CULD *Chambers Universal Learners' Dictionary*. Edinburgh: W&R Chambers, 1980.
*LDCE*¹ *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. Harlow and London: Longman, 1978.
*LDCE*² *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, New Edition*. Harlow: Longman, 1987.
*LDCE*³ *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 3rd ed.* Harlow: Longman, 1995.
*OALD*¹ *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 4th ed.* OUP, 1989.
*OALD*² *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 5th ed.* OUP, 1995.

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(1996年11月30日受理)

Historical Development of English-Japanese Dictionaries in Japan (3): *Tetsugaku-jū*

(*A Dictionary of Philosophy*, 1881)¹⁾

by Tetsujiro Inoue *et al.*

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1. Introduction

The third installment deals with *Tetsugaku-jū* (*A Dictionary of Philosophy*) (hereafter *TJ*), one of the technical-term dictionaries of the Meiji era. *TJ* was issued three times in about 30 years: *TJ1* in 1881, *TJ2* in 1884 and *TJ3* in 1912, which shows the great demand for the dictionary in the Meiji era. It provides only headwords and their translations. It does not show parts of speech, which often makes it difficult to distinguish, for example, between the translations of nouns, adjectives and verbs. It also fails to provide pronunciation, examples, and etymology (cf. 4.3.4.), which seems to be the case in other technical-term dictionaries. No distinction of senses is drawn, showing that translation into Japanese was of the utmost importance in this period.

During the early years of the Meiji era, the new government expanded the program of sending envoys and students abroad to study the social systems of Western countries. The mission led by Tomomi Iwakura in 1871, for example, made an inspection tour intended to help in building modern Japanese society. "... The forty-five years of the Meizi [*sic*] period were the age when the Japanese studied, borrowed those elements of Western and American civilization and westernized... They desired to

establish a strong nation like the leading West [*sic*] and American nations and they looked to the West for new patterns of society and government. In 1871, a Ministry of education [*sic*] was founded, and Japan embarked on an ambitious program of general education... but within a few years Japan had set up a broad educational system, especially general education had been applied with a [*sic*] brilliant success in Japan... " (Sugimoto 1985: 32)

Here it is also important to note that "The science and culture of the early Meizi [*sic*] period were a strange conglomeration of undigested borrowings from Western civilization mixed with many elements remaining intact from feudal times... Japanese people... learned the [*sic*] Western science or culture through foreign academic books, particularly English books about philosophy, technology, politics, economic [*sic*], mathematics, medical science, botany, physics and others. They translated some of terms [*sic*] and compiled a vocabulary of technical terms in each field, for a terminology is one of the most important tool [*sic*] to obtain a [*sic*] special knowledge. At the first half of the Meizi period, many special dictionaries or glossaries were compiled. We may characterize a new Japan at [*sic*] the Meizi era as a 'developing nation' in studying them... It was the [*sic*] important key to translate an exact terminology to lead a new Japan or [*sic*] a powerful nation on terms of equality with the Western Powers... " (Sugimoto 1985: 32-33).

The above passage helps us understand why translation was undertaken so energetically in those days. It was imperative for the government to obtain information by translating foreign literature in order to modernize Japanese institutions. It is also noted by Kato (1991: 342) that the tremendous amount of translation around the time of the Meiji Restoration covered an extremely wide range of subjects. He adds that it is no exaggeration to say that culture and society in the Meiji era were established or built on translations. There seem to be at least three factors in explaining the success the Japanese had in translating Western literature into their own language (Kato 1991: 349-53). The first is that a large amount of *kango* (words and phrases based on classical Chinese and pseudo-classical Chinese) was available and well known to intellectuals. The second is that

1) The original title is shown in parentheses, and a translated title in square brackets.

the Japanese had had some experience of translating Dutch into Japanese since the Yedo period. The third is that a small number of sophisticated intellectuals had a great ability to read and understand originals in Western languages, partly through the medium of Dutch or Chinese. A large number of foreign or Western books were imported. Naturally enough, the materials translated were relevant to the urgent needs of modernization, hence, for example, the translations of Western law books. It is also important to note, in connection with *TJ*, that some intellectuals of the period became interested in Western thought or philosophy as well as in history and civilization.

Some of the technical-term dictionaries referred to above include a dictionary of anatomical vocabulary (published in the 4th year of Meiji), one on medical vocabulary (6th year), one on chemical and mineralogical vocabulary (7th year), one on botany (7th year), one on medicinal vocabulary (7th year), and one on mathematics (11th year). Since the Yedo period a series of dictionaries had been published in physical or natural science. But English came to have a much stronger influence than Dutch on the above-mentioned dictionaries. With the exception of a dictionary of mercantile vocabulary (13th year), it was not until *TJ* was published that there appeared a technical-term dictionary dealing with social sciences and the humanities, such as philosophy, religion, politics, economics, sociology, ethics, and education. It must be noted that the dictionary was published by the Imperial University of Tokyo (Tokyo Imperial University), the foremost educational institution in the country.

In this article every aspect of *TJ* will be dealt with. As well as the historical background and profiles of the editors, detailed analyses will be made of the headwords and translations. The analysis of headwords will focus more on *TJ3* than on *TJ1* and *TJ2*, while that of translation equivalents will concentrate more on *TJ1* and *TJ2*. There are more studies on *TJ* by scholars of the Japanese language than by scholars of English, and this paper owes much to their work, especially in section 4 and 5.¹⁾

(Section 1. by Dohi)

1) The writers would like to express special gratitude to Prof. Shigeru Takebayashi and Prof. Keisuke Nakao for their encouragement and helpful advice, and to Prof. Paul

2. Background

2.1. Historical Background — Early Meiji Era

While the Iwakura mission was traveling abroad from 1871 to 73, several leaders of the government at home in Japan, including Takamori Saigo, one of the main reformers of the Meiji Restoration, Taisuke Itagaki and Foreign Minister Taneomi Soejima, were discussing the conquest of Korea. They wanted to invade Korea for two major reasons. Since the Korean Government had failed to pay homage to the new Japanese Government, they considered it urgent to demonstrate Japan's power and restore diplomatic relations. Besides this, they also wanted to divert the attention of the former samurai, who were dissatisfied with the government of the Satsuma-Choshu clique, toward foreign countries by means of invading Korea. Saigo obtained approval from Dajokan [the Grand Council of State] for a personal diplomatic mission to Korea. He hoped to provoke war and thus by force of arms to compel the Koreans to establish relations with Japan. When the mission returned in 1873, however, the decision to provoke war was overturned. The main members of the mission, including Tomomi Iwakura, Toshimichi Okubo and Takayoshi Kido, asserted that domestic administration should take precedence so that Japan could be a strong country by building up armaments and improving its financial affairs. Both sides stuck fast to their opinions, so the government split. In the end, Saigo resigned from the government with his followers and retired to his native place in Satsuma (now in Kagoshima Prefecture).

After the resignation of several government leaders, Toshimichi Okubo, strongly influenced by the system of Western society, established the Naimusho [Home Ministry] and began to strengthen the system of internal affairs. With its desire to ensure continuing independence and freedom from Western colonization, the government required a strong industrial and economic base, under the slogan of Fukokukyohei "enrich the country, strengthen the army." The government operated state-owned factories with the help of technological know-how and machines from foreign countries. Several kinds of factories such as spinning mills, glassworks and Davenport for his valuable help with the final draft.

cement plants were established. Among these, special importance was attached to the armaments and shipbuilding industries for military purposes.

Home Minister Okubo also had to deal with those who opposed modernization. Many samurai were unhappy with Chitsurokushobun, the decision of 1876 commuting their hereditary stipends into government bonds, and samurai uprisings occurred in various places. Shimpei Eto, who was once a councilor of the government, rose in rebellion in his native domain of Saga, where the samurai and a prefectural office stood in opposition. He failed to win the approval of Saigo and the rebellion was suppressed, with Eto receiving the death penalty [Saga Rebellion of 1874].

Meanwhile, several peasants' uprisings occurred to express disapproval of the revision of the land tax law in 1876. In order to obtain a stable annual income the government fixed land values. This revision made peasants' work harder, and their smoldering resentment finally burst into flame. As a result of their protests, the tax was reduced a year later.

The last major uprising to protest the reforms of the government occurred in Satsuma under the leadership of Saigo [Satsuma Rebellion of 1877]. About 40,000 former samurai, who had been dissatisfied with Haitorei [the law banning possession of swords] and chitsuroku shobun [a salary reduction], gathered in Kumamoto. A nine-month-long battle came to an end with the victory of the well-organized government conscript army under Okubo's command, and Saigo committed suicide. Okubo, now considered a traitor by his own domain and fellow samurai, was assassinated by disaffected samurai of Satsuma in 1878.

As a result of this incident, the people who had supported liberal democracy learned that it was safer to fight against the government not by force, but by speech. In 1874, three years before the Saigo incident, Taisuke Itagaki of Tosa (now Kochi Pref.), had already proposed the formation of a Diet to be elected by the people [Freedom and People's Rights Movement]. This movement took place throughout Japan, and the campaign succeeded in obtaining more than a hundred thousand signatures, not only from samurai but also from peasants. The atmosphere of enthusiastic excitement was fostered and fermented by central newspapers and debating clubs. Meanwhile in the Council councilors, including Hirobumi

Ito, Shigenobu Okuma, were deliberating how to establish a Constitution which would assure the hegemony of the emperor with the support of the people. There was, however, opposition between Ito and Okuma, and Ito finally persuaded Okuma to resign from his official post [Political Crisis of 1881].

In these turbulent social conditions, the people gradually became aware of the changes that were taking place. New styles of fashion in dresses with umbrellas and in business suits with leather shoes were introduced. The topknot was replaced by Western-style haircuts. Western-style buildings made of brick and with gas-lights appeared in Ginza in Tokyo. People began to enjoy beef, beer and cigarettes. The term applied to the trend was *Bunmeikaika* (Meiji Enlightenment).

A number of technical dictionaries were published as a result of absorbing new knowledge from Western studies. 『解体学語箋』 *Kaitaigaku-Gosen* (A [sic] *Anatomical Vocabulary*), 『医語類聚』 *Igoruishu* (A *Medical Vocabulary in English and Japanese*) and 『化学対訳辞書』 *Kagaku-Taiyaku-jisho* (A *Chemical and Mineralogical Dictionary in English and Japanese*) are examples. These dictionaries, however, had different translation equivalents for the same original word, and unification of translation came to be an urgent problem.

(Section 2.1. by Tsuya)

2.2. The History of Philosophy in Japan — from the Late Days of the Tokugawa Shogunate to the Early Meiji Era

2.2.1. Amane Nishi (1829–97)

It was Amane Nishi who introduced Western philosophy into Japan. He invented the translation equivalent for philosophy, *tetsugaku*, and played an important role in popularizing Western philosophy through his lectures and writings.

He was born in Iwami in the Tsuwano domain (now part of Shimane Pref.) in 1829. At the age of 24 he went up to Yedo (now Tokyo) to study Dutch, and three years later began to study English. From 1857 he taught English at Bansho Shirabesho¹⁾. The manuscript for his first lecture on

1) see Note 2) in Kokawa *et al.* (1996: 78)

philosophy was written in 1862. The lecture was supposed to be given at Bansho Shirabesho just before he was sent to the Netherlands with Mamichi Tsuda¹⁾ and the other members of the mission, but was never presented. The mission studied under Simon Vissering at the University of Leiden for three years, and returned to Japan in 1865.

Having welcomed the Meiji Restoration, the government closed Kaiseijo (a successor to Bansho Shirabesho) run by the Shogunate, and consequently most of the professors and lecturers moved to Shizuoka with the Tokugawas to set up academies there. Nishi was invited to Numazu Hei Gakko [Numazu Military School] as headmaster in 1868, and lectured on logic and philosophy. The government appointed him to the Ministry of Military Affairs in Tokyo in 1870. Later in the same year he established a private school named Ikueisha, where he continued to study and to teach philosophy. He was a founding member of the Meirokusha and was actively involved in the campaign for enlightenment, publishing numerous papers in its magazine *Meiroku zasshi*. In 1874 he published *Chichi keimo*, the first Japanese book on logic, which made him widely known as one of the country's leading thinkers.

As a government official, he wrote Choheirei [Conscription Ordinance of 1873] and edited 『兵語字書』 *Heigo-jisho* [A Dictionary of Military Terms] published by Sanbohonbu (the General Staff Office) in 1881.

Nishi is probably the greatest student and teacher of philosophy in late 19th-century Japan (Aso 1942: 294), and is considered the founding father of modern Japanese philosophy.

2.2.2. The flowering of philosophical studies

In 1870 the word *philosophy* appeared for the first time in the lesson timetable of the Imperial University of Tokyo, without its Japanese translation equivalent. However, as continuous changes in the curriculum and struggles for power did not actually allow the university to concentrate on study, the center of philosophical studies was outside the university (*ibid.*: 207, 224), that is, in private schools for English studies such as Ikueisha.

1) Mamichi Tsuda (1829–1903), a legal scholar and government official, helped with the foundation of modern humanities studies in Japan.

Nishi's steady efforts to introduce Western thought into Japanese society, together with the current of the times, eventually brought about the flowering of philosophical studies. The department of philosophy was established at the University in 1877. The increased interest in philosophy made it necessary to unify the translation equivalents of technical terms, leading to the publication of *TJ1*.

Considering his remarkable contribution to the subject, it would be natural to expect Nishi to have been involved in the *TJ1* project. Since, however, he was working on *Heigo-jisho*, which was eventually published in the same year as *TJ1*, it was not possible for him to be one of the writers. However, *TJ1* apparently benefitted from his comments and quite a few translation equivalents that he invented are found in the work (*ibid.*: 317). Nishi's influence on *TJ1* will be discussed further in 5.1.4.

(Sections 2.2.–2.2.2. by Komuro)

3. The Authors and the Dictionary

3.1. The Authors

Under the title of *Tetsugaku-jū* three dictionaries were published and each was edited by the following people:

TJ1 (1881): Inoue, Wadagaki, Kodera, and Ariga

TJ2 (1884): Inoue and Ariga

TJ3 (1912): Inoue, Matora, and Nakashima

The four who did the first edition were all graduates of the Faculty of Letters, Tokyo Imperial University: the first three belonged to the class of 1880, and Ariga to the class of 1882. With Wadagaki and Kodera studying abroad, Inoue and Ariga carried out the revision for *TJ2*. The three involved in the making of *TJ3* were all professors at Tokyo Imperial University. The first half of this chapter will provide brief author profiles, starting with Tetsujiro Inoue, who masterminded the monumental project and had a stake in every edition.

3.1.1. Tetsujiro Inoue (1855–1944)

Inoue was born in Dazaifu (now in Fukuoka Pref.) in 1855. His father was a medical practitioner. In his childhood he took lessons in classical

Chinese. In the early Meiji era (at age 17, 1871¹⁾), when the necessity to study English was keenly felt, he went to Nagasaki to enter the Kounkan, at which school he worked hard at mathematics, geography, history, etc. with English-speaking teachers. Three years' exposure to English there gave him a good command of the language. At the age of 21 (1875) he went up to Tokyo to attend Kaisei High School. Two years later he entered Tokyo Imperial University and majored doubly in philosophy and politics, though his primary interest was in the former. He graduated in 1880 (at age 26) and spent the following several years writing and translating. It was during this period that he published *Tetsugaku-jii* (*TJ1*, 1881) from Tokyo University Press. Japan was still drawing heavily on Western countries and their publications to assimilate new ideas, and to this end many books were translated from Western languages. As a student Inoue strongly felt that the lack of proper terminology and the discrepancies between translated technical terms with the same reference made it difficult to study and discuss philosophy and other disciplines in Japanese, which led to the publication of his dictionary. He set about translating philosophical terms with a few friends from Tokyo Imperial University (i.e. Wadagaki, Kodera, and Ariga). Among his neologisms are 絶対 *zettai* (Absolute) and 人格 *jinkaku*²⁾ (Personality) (Inoue 1973: 33–34, Fukumoto 1977: 114–15), which are now part of everyday Japanese vocabulary (see 5.1.3). In 1882 (at age 28) he returned to Tokyo Imperial University as associate professor and lectured on the history of Eastern philosophy. In the following year, having been granted a three-year scholarship by the Ministry of Education, he set out for Germany to pursue philosophy. He studied at Berlin, Heidelberg, and Leipzig. He extended his stay by some four years by teaching at the newly founded school of oriental languages affiliated with Berlin University. When he returned to Japan in 1890 (at age 36), he was promoted to professor at Tokyo Imperial University and gave lectures on Western and Eastern philosophy. In 1897 (at age 43) he was appointed head of the Faculty of Letters. He is remembered for hav-

1) In his time a different way of counting one's age was common: a newborn baby was regarded as being already one year old.

2) *Jinkaku* first appears in *TJ3*.

ing introduced German idealism to Japan. Also well versed in Buddhism and Confucianism, he sought to make a systematic study of the history of Eastern thought, finding some parallels with that of the West. He energetically published and taught until retirement at the age of 69 (1923), after which he continued teaching at other schools. Composing poems was one of his hobbies, and his *Shintaishi Sho*¹⁾ is said to have marked the start of modern poetry in this country. As an ardent nationalist, he denounced Christianity as "being inimical to Japan's unique national polity" (Campbell, *et al.* 1993: 609) and came into conflict with Kanzo Uchimura, a Christian leader, and others. He died in 1944 at the age of 90.

3.1.2. Kenzo Wadagaki (1860–1919)

Kenzo Wadagaki was born to a samurai family in Tajima (now part of Hyogo Pref.). As a child he studied classical Chinese and Western learning. In 1873 he entered Kaisei High School to study German. He entered Tokyo Imperial University to major in philosophy and economics and graduated in 1880. In the following year he went to King's College, London and Cambridge University to study economics. He also studied at Berlin. After returning to Japan in 1883, he taught economics at his alma mater. He wrote essays and textbooks on economics and law and also compiled other English-Japanese and Japanese-English dictionaries.

3.1.3. Shinsaku Kodera (1855–1929)

Shinsaku Kodera majored in philosophy and political science at Tokyo Imperial University and graduated in 1880. He then worked at the Ministry of Education. Between 1881 and 1886 he studied in Germany and Britain. On his return he became professor at the Higher Normal School. In 1891 he turned translator with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and worked in Britain, Russia, and China (then under the Ching dynasty). In 1902 he was promoted to secretary of the Ministry and head of its translation department.

1) Toyama, M., R. Yatabe, and T. Inoue, eds. 1882. *Shintaishi Sho* [Collection of New-Style Poetry (Campbell, *et al.* 1993: 1384)]. Tokyo: Maruzen.

3.1.4. Nagao Ariga (1860–1921)

Nagao Ariga was born in Osaka. His father was a poet. He studied philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University and graduated in 1882. After graduation he remained at the university as assistant professor and edited *Nihon Shakai Shi* [Social History of Japan]. In 1884 he became the secretary of the Genroin (Senate). In 1886 he went to Europe and studied the history of European civilization and psychology at Berlin and national law in Austria. When he returned in the following year, he became the secretary of the Sumitsuin (Privy Council) and aide to the prime minister. Later he taught again at Tokyo Imperial University as lecturer and at the Army Academy and Waseda University as professor. In 1913 he became a legal advisor to Yuan Shikai (袁世凱). He wrote many books on law and history.

3.1.5. Yujiro Motora (1858–1912)

Yujiro Motora was born to a samurai family in Settsu (now part of Hyogo Pref.). In 1875 he entered Doshisha Eigakko [English School] (now Doshisha University) in Kyoto and graduated in 1879. In 1883 he went to Boston University to major in philosophy and in 1885 transferred to Johns Hopkins University to study psychology. He returned in 1888 and became a lecturer at Tokyo Imperial University. Two years later he was promoted to professor there. He wrote many books on psychology and ethics.

3.1.6. Rikizo Nakashima (1858–1918)

Rikizo Nakashima was born in Tamba (now part of Kyoto). There he studied classical Chinese. From 1878 to 1879 he did English studies at Doshisha Eigakko. In 1880 he graduated from Western Reserve Academy, Ohio and in 1884 from Western Reserve University (now Case Western Reserve University) in humanities. He then went to Yale University and completed studies in theology in 1887 and also in philosophy in 1889. After graduation he became a lecturer in the history of philosophy at Yale. He returned to Japan in 1890 and taught ethics at Tokyo Imperial University. He was promoted to professor in 1892.

(Sections 3.–3.1.6. by Yamada)

3.2. The Dictionary

3.2.1. The background to the compilation

After Japan opened its doors to foreign countries in the second half of the 19th century, Western culture and science were introduced here at a tremendous pace and in enormous quantity by different people in different fields. One result of this was that different disciplines often used different terms for one and the same notion, while one term might represent different notions in different areas. In fact, one may go so far as to say that there were as many Japanese equivalents for one notion as the people who introduced the notion from Western culture. Thus the need to streamline the new vocabulary was frequently proclaimed around the time of *TJ*'s compilation. (See 5.1.2. for the professed aim of the compilation in the English preface of *TJ3*, which was written in December 1911 by Inoue himself.)

3.2.2. *Tetsugaku-Jii*

The dictionary, *TJ*, is a collection of mostly technical terms used primarily in the humanities, which had rapidly developed at the end of the Yedo period through to the early Meiji era in our country. The title *Tetsugaku-Jii* may be loosely translated as 'Philosophical Vocabulary' or 'Dictionary of Philosophical Terms,' 'philosophical' here denoting 'of learning.' It is not a general dictionary but rather a vocabulary book of academic terms, so there are no entries for the words of daily life or function words, such as 'dog,' 'morning,' 'I,' 'could' and 'about.' Also, the majority of the entries are for nouns, followed in number by adjectives (see Section 4 for the nature of the headwords).

3.2.3. The first edition (1881)

The first edition of *TJ* (『哲學字彙』) was edited by Tetsujiro Inoue, Kenzo Wadagaki, Shinsaku Koderu and Nagao Ariga (see 3.1). The size of the dictionary is 17.25cm × 11.15cm × 0.55cm (6.8in × 4.4in × 0.22in). It consists of the title page in Japanese, the preface in Chinese (1 page) by Inoue, the dictionary text entitled 'A Dictionary of Philosophy' (pp. 1–99) followed by 'Chinese Symphonious Characters' (pp. 101–127, a list of Chinese characters grouped together and arranged by pronunciation) by J.

G. Bridgman, and one page of errata.

The page layout and the structure of entries of the dictionary text of *TJ1* are fairly simple. A page consists of two columns: English headwords (including indented headwords) are presented on the left (see Section 4) and the Japanese equivalents on the right (see Section 5). In accordance with the convention of the day, the Japanese equivalents in *TJ1* are printed 90 degrees sideways to the horizontal page layout, so that they can be read vertically.¹⁾ On occasion, accounts of the sources from which the translations were derived are given (according to Hida (1979), for 63 entries).

3.2.4. The second edition (1884)

The first edition of *TJ* having been sold out in two years, a second edition (『改訂増補哲學字彙』, *lit. Tetsugaku-jū*, Revised and Enlarged) was published three years after the appearance of the original work. Wadagaki and Kōdera were abroad at the time of the revision, which was therefore carried out by Inoue and Ariga alone. There are only four words deleted (*Angelogy*, *Choice*, *Precedent* and *Presentative*), while 771 words were newly added to the original 1,952 entries in the first edition, according to the appended table by Hida (1980). Thus, we may regard it as a rather extensive enlargement. The physical dimensions of *TJ2* are a shade larger than *TJ1*, at 17.65cm × 11.6cm × 1.45cm (6.9in × 4.6in × 0.57in).

The second edition consists of the title page in Japanese, the preface to the second edition in Chinese by Ariga (1 page), the reprinted preface to the first edition (1 page), the dictionary text entitled 'A Dictionary of Philosophy' (pp. 1–136), 'A Sanskrit Chinese Dictionary' as 'Appendix A' (pp. 137–255) excerpted from the work by E. J. Eitel, 'Chinese Symphonious Characters' as 'Appendix B' (pp. 257–283, reprinted from the first edition) and a page of publisher's inscription.

The page layout and the entry format of this edition are the same as in the previous edition, except that the Japanese commas (、) used at the end of Japanese equivalents, apparently as period punctuation, were removed from the second edition entries.

1) Note that the format of *EJ2*, which was published the year after *TJ1*, is that of present-day English-Japanese dictionaries, i.e. using horizontal presentation.

3.2.5. The third edition (1912)

Twenty-eight years after the publication of the second edition of *TJ*, which had been long out of print and had become rather outdated, a third edition, prepared by Tetsujiro Inoue in collaboration with Yujiro Motora and Rikizo Nakashima, was issued. *TJ3* was less compact than the previous two editions, measuring 21.8cm × 14.6cm × 1.05cm (8.6in × 5.7in × 0.41in).

According to Inoue, *TJ3*, which was titled *Ei-Doku-Futsu-Wa Tetsugaku-jū* (『英獨佛和哲學字彙』, *lit. Tetsugaku-jū*, English-, German-, French-Japanese), is "practically a new 'Dictionary of Philosophical Terms' rather than a third edition of the previous one from which it differs to a very great extent" (from the preface to the third edition). In fact, it is an entirely new edition as we shall see in Sections 4 and 5 of this paper. One particularly striking point is that the previous two editions principally dealt with English, while the third edition featured plentiful entries for non-English headwords, the majority of which are German. Also, even under English headwords, information on other languages (German, French, Italian, Spanish, as well as Greek and Latin etymology) are provided in *TJ3*. Such cosmopolitanism obviously reflects the variety of sources from which our country absorbed science and culture at that time, as well as the compilers' keenness to meet the widening demands of technical users.

TJ3 consists of the Japanese title page, the English title page, two pages of English preface by Inoue, the dictionary text entitled 'A Dictionary of English, German, and French Philosophical Terms' (pp. 1–178), the 'Supplement' to the dictionary text (pp. 179–205), an 'Appendix' (pp. 207–209) including a table of constellations and a 'Synopsis of Geological Formations' (a list of geological chronology with an illustration), and one page of publisher's inscription.

In *TJ1* and *TJ2*, non-English headwords in such languages as French, German, Latin, Sanskrit and Japanese are presented in italics: *Raisonnement* (*TJ1*, *TJ2*), *Seele* (*TJ2*), *A priori* (*TJ1*, *TJ2*), *Mahayana* (*TJ1*, *TJ2*), *Sennin* (*TJ2*). In *TJ3*, headwords in other languages than German are all printed in roman boldface, while German ones are in gothic. The Japanese commas (、) at the end of the Japanese equivalents, which were re-

moved in *TJ2*, were for some reason revived in *TJ3*.

3.2.6. *TJ* and its source dictionary

According to the preface of the first edition, *TJ* was based on *The Vocabulary of Philosophy* (hereafter *VP*) by William Fleming (1st ed. 1856, 2nd ed. 1858, 3rd ed. 1876 (revised by Henry Calderwood), 4th ed. 1887). Hida (1980:6) counted the number of headwords in *TJ1* and compared it with the numbers of headwords in the second and the third editions of Fleming's dictionary, either or both of which Inoue no doubt used (the latter being chronologically more likely). The totals are 1,952 (*TJ1*), 832 (*VP2*) and 859 (*VP3*). Thus the number of entries in *The Vocabulary of Philosophy* was more than doubled in *TJ* (*ibid.*), which shows that *TJ* is not a mere translation of Fleming's work.

(Sections 3.2.–3.2.6. by Kokawa)

4. Headwords

As its title *Tetsugaku-jū* suggests, *TJ* is not a general dictionary, but basically a dictionary of technical terms. Almost all of the headwords are nouns, with some adjectives and very few verbs (*Hibernate* appears in *TJ2* and *TJ3*).¹⁾ There is a marked difference between the headwords in *TJ1* and *TJ2* on the one hand and *TJ3* on the other in that while the first two editions are lexical, the third is encyclopedic. The headwords of each edition will be examined in more detail below.

4.1. Headwords in *TJ1*

4.1.1. Choice of headwords

According to the preface, *TJ1* was based on Fleming's *The Vocabulary of Philosophy*, but because many new terms were not included in the latter book, numerous words from other sources were added. Inoue does not specify which edition of Fleming's dictionary he used, but the third edition was the newest edition available at the time of publication of *TJ1*. Many entries in *TJ1* and *VP3* coincide, but not all entries in *VP3* are included in

1) However, because of the nature of the translations, sometimes it is not clear which part of speech the headword belongs to. (See 5.3, 5.4.6.2.)

TJ1, and *TJ1* has many entries not in *VP3*. The headwords in *TJ1* are not necessarily philosophical terms. It seems the authors added certain basic words that they considered necessary for readings in philosophy (Sugimoto 1985: 516). Among such words are *Lie*, *Mankind*, *Nation*, and *Pain*, which do not appear in *VP3*.

Also, terms for disciplines other than philosophy are included. Field labels are given after the Japanese equivalents of these words. The following is the list of labels, reproduced from the preface, with readings, English translations of the fields indicated, and examples added:

label		field indicated		example of headword
(倫) <i>rin</i>	倫理學	<i>rinrigaku</i>	ethics	<i>Synderesis</i>
(心) <i>shin</i>	心理學	<i>shinrigaku</i>	psychology	<i>Concentration</i>
(論) <i>ron</i>	論法	<i>ronpo</i>	logic	<i>Premise</i>
(世) <i>se</i>	世態學	<i>setaigaku</i>	sociology	<i>Bigamy</i>
(生) <i>sei</i>	生物學	<i>seibutsugaku</i>	biology	<i>Tissue</i>
(數) <i>su</i>	數學	<i>sugaku</i>	mathematics	<i>Ratio</i>
(物) <i>butsu</i>	物理學	<i>butsurigaku</i>	physics	<i>Inertia</i>
(財) <i>zai</i>	理財學	<i>rizaigaku</i>	economics	<i>Currency</i>
(宗) <i>shu</i>	宗教	<i>shukyo</i>	religion	<i>Baptism</i>
(法) <i>ho</i>	法理學	<i>horigaku</i>	law	<i>Contract</i>
(政) <i>sei</i>	政理學	<i>seirigaku</i>	politics	<i>Administration</i>

Judging from the labels, among the non-philosophical terms, the three most numerous are terms in logic, economics, and biology. Main entries in these fields constitute 5.2%, 3.5%, and 2.6% of the main entries in *TJ1*, respectively.¹⁾

TJ1 has 1,562 main headwords and 390 indented headwords: 1,952 headwords in all (Hida 1980: table 1). A majority of them are English, but there are also several Latin, German, French, and Sanskrit words. Here is one example of each in the order above: *In esse*, *Begriff*, *Raisonnement*,

1) Some entries are given more than one field label, with different Japanese equivalents to be used in each field. In working out the percentages here, such entries are counted as belonging separately to each of the disciplines labeled for, but this fact is not reflected in the total number of entries. For example, *Analogue*, which is labeled (生) *sei* and (論) *ron*, is counted twice, once as a biological term, and once as a logical term, but constitutes one entry in the total number of entries. The same holds for the statistics in 4.2.1 and 4.3.2.

*Samadhi*¹ (三昧 *zanmai*).

4.1.2. Presentation of headwords

As was usual at the time (See Kokawa *et al.* 1994: 89; Kokawa *et al.* 1996: 88), each headword is capitalized. When the headword consists of more than one word, only the first word is capitalized, though there are some exceptions, which are probably typographical errors. This system of capitalization remains the same throughout the three editions.

There are two types of headwords in *TJ1*: main headwords and indented headwords. Main headwords usually consist of one word. Indented headwords are compounds and phrases which contain the main headword, and these are indented one space. The same typeface is used for both types of headwords.

The general tendency is to list indented headwords in the form of “adjective + noun” under the noun as the main headword. For example, *Inseparable accident* appears indented after *Accident*. There are some exceptions: *Court of cassations* comes under *Cassation*, and *Absolute right* is listed under *Absolute*. The case of *Absolute right* seems to have been a mistake, however, for all the other compounds of “right” are placed under *Right*, and *Absolute right* itself is placed under *Right* in *TJ2* and *TJ3*.

When the indented headword takes a form such as “noun + ‘of’ + noun,” there seems to be no consistent principle for deciding where to enter it. Thus *Principle of contradiction* appears under *Principle* and *Theory of Evolution*² under *Evolution*. No cross references are given. This contrasts with the general practice today, which is to list phrases under the word which carries the most meaning in the phrase, and provide cross references where necessary.

When there is more than one indented headword under the same main headword, the indented headwords are placed in alphabetical order, without differentiating between compounds and phrases. For instance, the in-

1) “Sanskrit SAMĀDHI (‘total self-collectedness’), in Hindu and Buddhist religion and philosophy, the highest state of mental concentration that a person can achieve while still bound to the body and which unites him with the highest reality” (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s. v. samadhi).

2) Though not the first word of the entry, “evolution” is capitalized here.

dent headwords under *Principle* appear in the following order: *Fundamental principle*, *Principle of contradiction*, *Principle of identity*, *Principle of sufficient reason*, *Universal principle*.

Lastly, italics are used for non-English words, albeit in an inconsistent manner. For example, while *Non-sequitur* is italicized, *Modus* is not. Also, errors in alphabetization and spelling are occasionally found.

4.2. Headwords in *TJ2*

4.2.1. Choice of headwords

The types of words entered are not much different from *TJ1*. Only four entries from *TJ1* are omitted: *Angelogy*, *Choice*, *Precedent*, and *Presentative*. As in *TJ1*, non-philosophical terms are included, and the same field labels used. There is one instance of (理) *ri*, which is not used in *TJ1*, but this seems to be a mistake for (財) *zai*, which stands for 理財學 *risaigaku* (economics). The three most frequent labels are for logic, law, and economics. The percentages of main entries with these labels among all main entries are ‘logic’ 3.6%, ‘law’ 2.7%, ‘economics’ (including (理)) 2.6%. An increase in legal terms is observed compared to *TJ1*.

The headwords are mostly English, but a number of them are in other languages. As in *TJ1*, Latin, German, French, and Sanskrit terms are included. What is new is the introduction of Chinese terms such as *Y-king*¹ (易經 *ekikyo*). Surprisingly, there is one apparently Japanese headword: *Senmin* is listed with the Japanese equivalent 仙人, which is pronounced *senmin* and means “hermit.” Apart from this, there are some words which we could not identify, such as *Kona*.

The number of headwords in *TJ2* is 2,197 for main headwords and 526 for indented headwords, the total being 2,723 (Hida 1980: table 1). This represents an increase of 40% over *TJ1*.

4.2.2. Presentation of headwords

The presentation of headwords in *TJ2* is roughly the same as in *TJ1*.

1) “(Chinese: ‘Classic of Changes’), an ancient Chinese text, one of the Five Classics (*Wu Ching*) of Confucianism” (*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. I Ching). *Y-king* is spelled “I Ching” and “Yi Ching” in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Here only the differences will be mentioned.

First, whereas indented headwords in *TJ1* always contained the main headword, in *TJ2* some indented headwords contain not the main headword, but derivatives of that word. For example, *Negotiable paper* and *Quasi-negotiable* appear as indented headwords under the main headword *Negotiation*.

Secondly, a new principle is adopted in the organization of the indented headwords under *Law*. In *TJ1* they were put in alphabetical order, without making a distinction between compounds and phrases. In *TJ2* compounds and phrases are separately alphabetized, compounds appearing first, followed by phrases. However, this method is not followed consistently in the dictionary as a whole.

A third point of difference is that indented headwords are indented two spaces instead of one, making it easier to distinguish them from main headwords.

Lastly, the use of italics is more consistent than in *TJ1*. *Modus*, which was not italicized in *TJ1*, is italicized in *TJ2*. Also, most errors in alphabetization are corrected, though new errors appear, due to the addition of new entries.

(Sections 4.-4.2.2. by Shimazu)

4.3. Headwords in *TJ3*

As pointed out in its preface, *TJ3* is considered "a new 'Dictionary of Philosophical Terms'" rather than simply the third edition of the dictionary published almost three decades before. Innovative points are to be found in various aspects. The most innovative, however, may be the presentation of German and French synonyms next to English entries which also explains the title of *TJ3* (*Tetsugaku-jū*, English-, German-, French-Japanese). The various points which produce the uniqueness of this edition will be discussed in the following subsections.

4.3.1. Composition of headwords

According to Hida (1980), the number of main entries in *TJ3* is 6,548 (not including the supplement), which is almost three times as many as

appear in *TJ2*. The increase in number arises mainly from the inclusion of many German words into the entries. In fact, the number of German main entries in *TJ3* is 2,030, which constitutes about 50% of the main entries newly entered in *TJ3*. In contrast, the numbers of German entries in *TJ1* and *TJ2* are only 8 and 16 respectively. The German entries in *TJ3* are mainly technical terms in philosophy, and it seems reasonable to suppose that their inclusion is a result of the fact that Inoue played an important part in introducing German philosophy, especially the philosophy of Kant and Schopenhauer, to Japanese academia (see Hida 1980:4).

It should be noted, however, that not all the new main entries in *TJ3* consist of non-English words, as the following calculation shows. If we take the first half of *TJ2* and *TJ3*, i.e. from A to L, as sample pages, the numbers of main entries in *TJ2* and *TJ3* are 1,181 and 3,380 respectively. Assuming that all the main entries in *TJ2* are included in *TJ3*, we can calculate the number of newly entered main entries in *TJ3* by subtracting the number of main entries in *TJ2* from that of main entries in *TJ3*. The figure we thus obtain is 2,199¹⁾. If we count the number of words identifiable as English among the main entries new to the sample pages (i.e. from A to L) of *TJ3*, we find 805 newly entered English main entries.²⁾ If we then divide this number by the number of all the new main entries and then multiply the figure by 100, we find that the percentage of English main entries newly entered in *TJ3* is approximately 37%.³⁾ The remainder of the new main entries in *TJ3* are for words from such languages as Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, and French. There are also entries whose origins we cannot identify, such as *Dschin* and *Endomusia*.

1) The subtraction is: $3,380 - 1,181 = 2,199$.

2) Identifying the number of English main entries was a rather laborious task, as it was sometimes difficult to decide which language a headword belonged to. Take the entry *Genre* as an example. We now regard this word as part of the English lexicon, but considering the fact that the indented entry is a French compound (*Genre généralissime*), we cannot deny the possibility that the editors of *TJ3* regarded the word *Genre* as French. We did not count such ambiguous entries as English entries.

3) The calculation is: $(805 \div 2,199) \times 100 \approx 37\%$.

4.3.2. Field labels in *TJ3*

The percentage of main entries with field labels to all the main entries is smaller in *TJ3* than in the previous two editions: about 7% in *TJ3* against approximately 21% and 18% in *TJ1* and *TJ2*. The type of field labels, however, varies more in *TJ3*, which has 39 types, compared with only 11 in *TJ1* and *TJ2*.

The way the field labels are given is rather inconsistent, since there are cases in which different labels are attached to entries which seem to belong to the same subject field. For example, there are 30 entries indicated as belonging to the field of economics, but three different field labels are used to show this: (財) *zai*, (理) *ri* and (経) *kei*. What makes the situation even more complicated is that these labels have two variants: (理財) *rizai* and (経済) *keizai*. These two variants can be considered as unabbreviated forms of either *zai* or *ri*.

We may classify the 39 field labels in *TJ3* into 22 categories: 'logic,' 'biology,' 'law,' 'economics,' 'politics,' 'sociology,' 'medicine,' 'rhetoric,' 'religion,' 'psychology,' 'psychiatry,' 'ethics,' 'linguistics,' 'physiology,' 'anatomy,' 'zoology,' 'mathematics,' 'physics,' 'chemistry,' 'anthropology,' 'philosophy' and 'aesthetics.' The labels which were newly introduced in *TJ3* are: 'medicine,' 'rhetoric,' 'psychiatry,' 'linguistics,' 'physiology,' 'anatomy,' 'zoology,' 'chemistry,' 'anthropology,' 'philosophy' and 'aesthetics.'

It is interesting that the entry *Energetik* carries the field label (哲) *tetsu* which indicates that the word is a technical term in philosophy, since it was explained in the preface of *TJ1* that *TJ* did not in principle attach any field labels to philosophical terms.

There is no explanation in the preface of *TJ3* of why so many new field labels were introduced. We can assume, however, that the editors' decision to enter a large number of new terms from various fields or disciplines necessitated the introduction of many new labels which did not appear in the previous two editions.

The three most frequent labels in *TJ3* are 'logic,' 'biology' and 'law.' The percentages of main entries with these labels to all the main entries are 'logic' 1.1%, 'biology' 0.9% and 'law' 0.7%. Thus we see that terms in logic

are entered in large numbers in all three editions.

4.3.3. Presentation of headwords

Main entries in *TJ3* are printed in boldface, while indented entries are in roman. German entries are conspicuous, since they are printed in Gothic.

Greek entries are unique in that they are printed in the Greek alphabet and listed under the English letter that seems to be regarded as corresponding to the Greek letter in question. For example, the Greek entries *Φρονησις* (thoughtfulness) and *Πιστις* (faith) are both listed under the English letter *P*.

Although Sanskrit entries are printed in the English alphabet, a transcription in Sanskrit letters is appended at the end of the definition. The main entry *Nirmanakaya* is a typical example:

Nirmanakaya. 化身、(Sans. निर्माणकाय).

It is noteworthy that *TJ3* lists all entries in a single alphabetical order without classifying them into the same language groups. We may suppose that this strict alphabetization made access to the headwords easier for the dictionary's users, as it enabled the user to look up words without knowing what language they belonged to. However, it may have been rather difficult to look up Greek words, since the editors nowhere explained the correspondence between the English alphabet and the Greek alphabet. How could users discover that the words starting with *Φ* and *Π* were both listed under the English letter *P*?¹⁾

4.3.4. Presentation of synonyms

As mentioned above (4.3.), quite a few main entries and indented entries in *TJ3* have their synonyms in other languages appended in parentheses. Synonyms in Latin and Greek are presented first followed by German and French. The order of Latin and Greek synonyms sometimes changes, as we can see in the following examples:

1) The headwords starting with the letters *Φ* and *Π* may have been listed under the letter *P* because the sound represented by the two Greek letters is similar to that represented by the English letter *P*.

Nomology (Lat. *nomos*, law; Gr. *νόμος*, *aw* [*sic*] and *λόος* [*sic*], science; Ger. *Gesetzeslehre*, *Nomologie*; Fr. *nomologie*.)

Opinion (Gr. *δόξα*; Lat. *opinio*, from *opinus*, thinking; Ger. *Meinung*, *Meinen*; Fr. *avis*, opinion.)

Synonyms in other European languages are sometimes provided as well. The main entry *Clear* serves as an example; Italian and Spanish synonyms are juxtaposed after French and German:

Clear (Fr. *clair*, Ger. *klar*, It. *chiaro*, Sp. *claro*.)

As already seen in the preceding examples, synonyms in the classical languages sometimes provide etymological information. Here is another example:

Philosophy (Gr. *φιλοσ*, lover, *σοφία*, wisdom; Ger. *Philosophie*; Fr. *philosophie*.)

Some non-English entries have English synonyms appended, as in the following:

Sollen (Eng. *oughtness*; Fr. *devoir*, *ce que* [*sic*] *doit être*.)

4.3.5. Relationship between main entries and indented entries

The relationship between main entries and indented entries is unique in that sometimes English main entries are followed by non-English indented entries. If we take the main entry *Metaphysics* as an example, two out of the four indented entries are not English but German. Another main entry, *Affect*, is an extreme case, since all the indented entries are German.

4.3.6. Cross references

A system of cross references is introduced in *TJ3*. For example, if we look up the headword *Feminism*, we find the instruction: *see* *Effeminacy*. The definition of the word is provided under the headword *Effeminacy*. However, the cross references are not always taken up. For instance, under the main entry *Arai* we find the instruction: *see* *Hakuseki*, but the word *Hakuseki* does not exist as a main entry, so users cannot obtain the information that *Hakuseki Arai* is the name of a Japanese scholar of Confucian-

ism in the Yedo period.

4.3.7. *TJ3* as a reference book

TJ3 serves not only as a lexicon of philosophical terms but also as a biographical dictionary and a dictionary of quotations.

Some names of people appear as main entries, mostly the names of philosophers, scholars, scientists and men of religion. Usually the surname is presented as the main entry, followed by the first name, the identity of the person, the years of birth and death and the transcription of the surname in Chinese characters. The following is an example:

Schopenhauer, Arther [*sic*]. German philosopher, b. 1788; d. 1860. 勺邊哈兒、

Chinese and Japanese scholars and theorists appear as well as Europeans. *Confucius*, for example, is given a main entry.

There is some inconsistency of presentation since whether a person's name, surname or full name is entered as a main entry varies from person to person. For instance, in the case of *Banzan* (Banzan Kumazawa, a Japanese economist and philosopher of the Yedo period) we find his first name as a main entry, while *Atsutane Hirata*, a Japanese scholar and Shintoist of the Yedo period, is entered under his full name with the surname first: *Hirata Atsutane*.

Latin quotations also appear as main entries in *TJ3*. They are arranged in alphabetical order among other entries, and the sources are sometimes made clear by appending the person's name at the end of the quotation. The quotations are translated into classical Chinese, in which intellectuals of the Meiji era were well versed. The following serve as examples:

Bene qui latuit, bene vixit, (Ovid). 隱而止住、則所以全生命也、
Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret. 自然者雖以力驅逐之而亦忽歸來、

The first quotation is from Ovid and the second is from Horace, though only the source of the first is indicated.

Sources are also given for some of the main entries that are technical terms coined by European philosophers or scientists. Examples of this are

Parousia (Plato) and *Sensiferous* (Huxley).

It is noteworthy that under the main entry *Category*, we find a 'table of categories' of Aristotle and Kant. We may say that, here, *TJ3* is not so much a mere lexicon of philosophical terms as a reference book with a wider range of information.

4.3.8. *TJ3* as a new dictionary

The primary purpose of publishing *TJ1* and *TJ2* was to settle the Japanese equivalents of technical terms which were introduced mainly from Europe. Although the purpose of compiling *TJ3* was almost the same as that of the previous two editions, we may say that *TJ3* made an attempt to provide its users with more encyclopedic information. This may be considered as another innovative feature that *TJ3* has in comparison with *TJ1* and *TJ2*.

(Sections 4.3.–4.3.8. by Takahashi)

5. Translation

5.1. Introduction

The dictionaries referred to in this section are shown below. Those with asterisks are mentioned or dealt with in the first or second installment of the present series.

- * *Eiwa-Taikyaku-Shuchin-Jisho* (*ETSJ*, 1862)
- * *English Chinese Dictionary* (*ECD1*, 1866–69)¹⁾
- * *Fuon-Sozu-Eiwa-Jii* (*EJ1*, 1873)
- Tetsugaku-Jii* (*TJ1*, 1881)
- * *Zoho-Teisei-Eiwa-Jii* (*EJ2*, 1882)
- Tetsugaku-Jii*, Revised and enlarged (*TJ2*, 1884)
- English Chinese Dictionary*, Revised and enlarged (*ECD2*, 1884)
- Ei-Doku-Futsu-Wa Tetsugaku-Jii* (*TJ3*, 1912)

Section 5.1. is a general introduction to translation in *TJ*. Section 5.2. is

1) There are several different versions of the *English Chinese Dictionary*. The one the writer referred to has two volumes, which is different from the ones Shin mentions (1994: 139–41). The main difference seems to lie not in the body but in the addenda, corrections and so on.

concerned with the translations in *TJ1*. Section 5.3. is concerned with presentation compared with that in modern English-Japanese dictionaries. Section 5.4. deals with the influence of *TJ1* on *EJ2*, comparing their translations. Section 5.5. takes up the translations in *TJ2*, with reference to those in *EJ1* and *EJ2*, and to those in *ECD1* and *ECD2*. Section 5.6. deals concisely with the translations in *TJ3*.

5.1.1. The method of translation

The translation of technical terms in the early Meiji era, which was of great significance in the development of scholarly studies and has to be distinguished from that of general or common vocabulary, is said to have played a key role in the establishment of modern Japan. It should be kept in mind that there are three kinds of translation. The first is translation, usually in *wago* (words and phrases based on indigenous Japanese), in which the referent is (almost) the same in both Western languages and Japanese. The second is translation necessitated by the introduction of Western culture, which is usually expressed in *kango*. The third is transliteration, which had also been in use since the age of Dutch translation. The second kind had a profound effect on the system of modern Japanese vocabulary (cf. Kokawa *et al.* 1996: 99).

One way of providing equivalents was to adopt translations already used by Japanese translators of Dutch or in use since the Yedo period, though this was not generally done in *TJ*. Another was to borrow Chinese translations. Note that “. . . there was used an English Chinese dictionary compiled by foreigners in China, particularly the Christian missionaries. There were many Japanese equivalents in the glossaries coming from an English Chinese dictionary in the early 19th century . . . the English Chinese dictionary was used as a kind of media in translating English terminology into Japanese.” (Sugimoto 1985: 33). Morioka (1991: 246–64) indicates the other ways. One of these was to revive or transfer the meaning of archaic or obsolete words in classical Chinese, the original meaning of which might be little known to many Japanese. Another way was to transform, that is, to reverse the order of or to abbreviate phrases. Yet another was to create or coin a translation. It is to be noted that all the ways mentioned except

the first use *kango*.

There must have been several points to consider when selecting suitable or exact equivalents: whether they conveyed the original or etymological meanings, whether they accorded with normal usage, and whether or not there was a possibility of confusion with other translations.

Various translations often coexisted. The publication of numerous technical-term dictionaries reflected the conscious effort toward unification or standardization under the sponsorship or support of the new government. *TJ* itself seems to have had not a little influence, especially in the field of the humanities.

5.1.2. Three principles of translation in *TJ*

Inoue writes in the preface of *TJ3*, "As the occidental philosophy was for the first time introduced into Japan not long after the Restoration, it has been very difficult for us to find *exact equivalents* [my emphasis] in our own language for the technical terms employed in it. One and the same term had sometimes been translated by various expressions which might be considered quite distinct in their signification by readers unacquainted with the originals. It was, therefore, very necessary to settle finally the Japanese equivalents of the European technical terms. This difficult task I undertook...publishing the result as a "Dictionary of Philosophical Terms" (哲學字彙) in 1881." (It should be noted that 哲學 *tetsugaku* includes not only human and social sciences but also parts of natural or physical science.)

In former dictionaries, not all the translations given showed 'exact equivalents.' Translations were given in the form of one-to-one and/or multiple correspondences, often with explanatory phrases in *katakana*. It must have been difficult if not impossible for translators to put texts into Japanese without exact equivalents. In such circumstances it was quite natural for Inoue *et al.* to try to establish proper counterparts.

In the prefaces of *TJ1* and *TJ2*, three basic processes are explicitly men-

1) From what Morioka (1991: 78–81) notes, it can be said that the content of the preface in *ECD2* is the same as that in *TJ3*.

tioned in finding translations. The first is that certain translations already used by predecessors are adopted when judged to be suitable or exact. The second is that new translations were sought in the works of classical Chinese literature (and in some cases parts of the originals are shown). The third is that subject or field labels are often shown, though not consistently. The third technique is used in some of the definitions in *EJ* (cf. 5.4.5.2, footnote 1). The second technique of finding words in classical, not modern, Chinese seems to be a new way of translation (cf. 3.1.1).

5.1.3. *Kango* and translation

From the end of the Yedo period, English had come to take the place of Dutch. A good deal of Chinese literature including English-Chinese dictionaries was also imported. Thus, an English-Chinese book of 1864, *Elements of International Law* (万国公法), translated by an American missionary, was reprinted in Japan the following year. The new translation of *Botany* (植學 *shokugaku*) created in Japan was replaced by the Chinese translation 植物學 *shokubutsugaku*. These facts help us to realize the powerful influence of Chinese translations at this time. Although English-Chinese books on geography, politics, and economics, as well as medicine, were influential in this way, this is less true of such fields in the humanities as philosophy (Shin 1996: 85). This led some scholars and intellectuals to create new translations, some of which are seen in Amane Nishi's works or in *TJ*.

TJ employs four methods of translation in *kango* (Morioka 1991:251–64): revival and/or transfer, transformation, borrowing (including transliteration), and coining. The first way, reviving archaic or obsolete words, is seen in *Absolute* (絕對), or *Metaphysics* (形而上學), the latter involving a transfer of meaning. It was not easy to find such expressions, so this method was rather unproductive and was possible only with technical terms. The second way, shortening original phrases and producing new words, is seen in *Category* (範疇). Borrowing, the most obvious way, is seen in *People* (人民) or *Induction* (歸納法). Transliteration is used in words like *Catholicism* (加特力教). Coining is seen in a word like 人格 *jinkaku* (Personality) (given not in *TJ1* or *TJ2* but in *TJ3*); this must have been partly done

in *TJ* by trial and error.

Even if translations do not convey exact original meanings, the gap between them can be filled, if not completely, by having one-to-one translational correspondences and explicit explanatory definitions. This is only possible, however, as long as denotation between the original and the translation is (almost) the same. Here it is important to recognize that such is not the case in most translations dealt with in *TJ*. In other words, the gap lies in denotation as well as connotation. For example, the translation of *Right* 權利 *kenri* can be traced back to the Chinese translation in *Elements of International Law* (Sato 1986:171–72 and Ishida 1976:94–96). The reprinted book was widely read and the translation came to be widely known. 權利 *kenri*, however, meant the right of a nation in international law, not the right of a person or people. In Chinese literature, 權 and 利 mean ‘power’ and ‘profit’ respectively. The translation 權利 *kenri* thus has the unfavorable connotation of ‘selfish seeking for profit.’ This led translators in Japan to produce other translations, such as 權理 *kenri*. *TJ* adopts 權利 *kenri* and the translation came to stay in the 1880s.¹⁾ It must be kept in mind that words composed of *kanji* (Chinese characters) employed in the translation of Western languages are inevitably used with denotations or connotations peculiar to Japanese culture or society. This makes it quite conceivable that an idea or notion in a Western language was not completely understood and that many translations of Chinese origin were thought of as ‘foreign,’ and that it therefore took some time before they came to be accepted or regarded as Japanese.

5.1.4. Amane Nishi's work and his influence on *TJ*

Amane Nishi, one of the greatest thinkers and scholars of the enlightenment in the early Meiji era, is said to have made a remarkable contribution to the making of modern Japanese. Morioka showed his outstanding contribution (1991: 138–59). Assembling more than 1,400 translations in Nishi's published works between 1866 and 1882, in which Nishi puts

1) The first dictionary in which the translation 權利 *kenri* is listed is *An English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language*, Second edition (1879), edited by E. Satow and M. Ishibashi.

Japanese translations after English words or gives English words in *katakana* alongside Japanese translations, he compared Nishi's translations with those in nine dictionaries. He divided the dictionaries into two groups, those published before *EJ1* and those after *EJ2*. Compared with those in the former group, the dictionaries in the latter group contain more translations that correspond to Nishi's. *TJ1*, which he does not mention, shows a correspondence with 19 translations out of 24 in his list (*ibid.*: 140): *Definition* (定義), *Extension* (外延) and *Instinct* (本能) are examples.

Morioka also examined *EJ1* and *EJ2*, comparing their translations with Nishi's (*ibid.*: 139–43). A list is shown of 52 words in *EJ2* containing the same translations as those in Nishi's works. Of these, 50 have the same or nearly the same translations in *TJ1*: *Attention* [*sic*] (注意), *Attribute* (屬性) and *Emotion* (情緒), for instance. As Morioka admits, not all of the translations given can be said to be Nishi's coinages, but Nishi clearly had a powerful influence on translations in the early Meiji era. *TJ1*, which seems to have partly adopted Nishi's translations and which was published a year earlier than *EJ2*, had some influence on the latter; the influence will be examined in more detail later (5.4.).

In Sato's study (1992: 306–36) of translations in Nishi's unpublished (and later published) work 『百學連環』 *Hyakugaku-renkan* (Encyclopedia), a detailed analysis was made of 340 translations made up of two *kanji* out of 600 translations. 240 of them can be traced back to Japanese or Chinese literature. 50 were used as translations around the Meiji Restoration. 50 are supposed to be Nishi's own translations, first appearing in this work. Sato came to the conclusion that only two translations were adopted by *TJ1*: *Philosophy* (哲學) and *Proposition* (命題).

Morioka (*ibid.*: 147–48) also shows other translations by Nishi adopted in *TJ1* and still used in present-day Japanese. Three examples are: *Deduction* [*sic*] (演繹法), *Idea* (觀念), *Induction* (歸納法). His study (*ibid.*: 106–18) also shows the result of a survey of Nishi's 1877 translation of J.S. Mill's *Utilitarianism*. The number of translations amounts to more than 900. He shows what he thinks are Nishi's own translations. It is interesting to note that 11 translations out of 15 in his list are all given in *TJ1* and other English-Japanese dictionaries published later than *TJ1*: *Abstract* (抽

象), *Concrete* (具体), *Consciousness* (意識), *Dednction* [sic], *Duty* (義務), *Idea*, *Ideal* (理想), *Induction*, *Observation* (觀察), *Philosophy*, *Quality* (形質) (cf. Nagashima 1970: 124–26, 134–35, 145–46).

The above clearly demonstrates Amane Nishi's outstanding contribution to the translations not only in *TJ1* but also in other dictionaries in the early Meiji era, especially in the field of the humanities. This was possible partly because the translations are mainly limited to technical terms, which tend not to change easily, and partly because more appropriate technical translations did not exist. Modern Japanese vocabulary in the humanities owes much of what it is today to Meiji intellectuals like Amane Nishi.

5.1.5. Some problems in *TJ*

Many difficult translations are given after the headwords in *TJ1*. Here we refer again to Morioka's study (1991: 331–56). He made an analysis of the *kanji* used in *TJ2*, comparing them with other technical dictionaries on mathematics, physics, and mineralogy. A correspondence of one headword to one translation equivalent is usually found, though the average number of translations per headword is larger in *TJ2*. Translations usually consist of two characters, such as 哲學 *tetsugaku* (*Philosophy*). Morioka notes (*ibid.*: 334) that the number of translations done this way in philosophy exceeds those in other fields, as the subject contains much abstract or notional vocabulary. The flexibility of two-*kanji* combinations seems to have made it possible to produce a multiplicity of translations. It is also pointed out (*ibid.*: 345–47) that the field of philosophy (as well as that of mineralogy) uses more special or difficult *kanji* because there is more direct borrowing. It can be said that in the Meiji era more difficult or inappropriate *kanji* were used or introduced than strictly necessary. Borrowing words from Chinese literature or Chinese translations can nonetheless be considered a mixed blessing because, without it, it would have been virtually impossible to put ideas in Western languages into Japanese.

5.2. Translations in *TJ1*

The principles of translation are referred to above (5.1.2.). Here more examples are shown with reference to certain articles. Hida (1979: 227–28)

mentions that 63 translations show the original phrases or sentences from which they are taken: *Absolute* (絕對), *Concrete* (形而下), *Emancipation* (解脫), *Ethics* (倫理學), *Materialism* (唯物論), *Relativity* (相對), *Revolution* (革命) and *Trinity* (三位一體), for example.

In section 4, the labels of headwords are referred to (cf. 4.1.1.). Some examples with the three most frequent labels are given here. Those headwords with the label (論) *ron* (logic) include *Analogism* (推論), *Antecedent* (前項), *Conjunctive* (合接的), *Connotation* (含蓄), and *Copula* (連辭). Those with the label (生) *sei* (biology) include *Adaptation* (順應), *Assimilation* (同化), *Inheritance* (形質遺傳), *Integration* (結合), and *Survival of the fittest* (適種生存). Those with the label (財) *zai* (economics) include *Consumption* (消耗), *Currency* (通貨), *Debt* (負債), *Demand* (需用) and *Exportation* (輸出).

Translations still used today include *Capital* (資本), *Constitution* (憲法), *Contract* (契約), *Distribution* (分配), *Election* (選舉), and *Element* (元素). Translations not in common use today include *Denotation* (旨趣), *Essence* (運質), and *Fluctuation* (昂低).

Sato (1992: 362–96) extensively studied certain areas of translation in *TJ1*. He examined 132 translations labeled (財) *zai* (economics), (法) *ho* (law), (政) *sei* (politics), and (世) *sei* (sociology) and classified them into certain groups. 72 of them, such as *Commodity* (品物), *Interest* (利息) and *Trade* (貿易), can be traced back to classical Chinese or modern Chinese translations of foreign books. 29, including *Federalism* (聯邦主義), *Monogamy* (一夫一妻), and *Property* (所有物), are compounds containing two *kanji* which can be traced back to Chinese or Japanese literature. 31, such as *Monopoly* (專賣) and *Price* (物價), are of unknown origin. Comparing the translations with those in *ECD1* and *EJ1*, he says (*ibid.*: 387) that the number of translations corresponding with those in *EJ1*, such as *Diplomacy* (公使) and *Privilege* (特許), is about twice as large as those in *ECD1*, such as *Barter* (換易) and *Union* (情交).

He also studied the translations in D. Out of 174 translations (cf. *ibid.*: 387), 96, such as *Death* (死亡) and *Defective* (未完), can be traced back to Chinese literature. 37, such as *Deism* (自然神教) and *Discrimination* (辨別力), are two-*kanji* compounds from Chinese or Japanese literature. 41, such as *Derivation* (派生) and *Description* (平叙), are of unknown origin.

Comparing the translations in D with those in *ECD1* and *EJ1*, he says (*ibid.*: 395) that the number of correspondences between *TJ1* and *EJ1* is the larger.

The most important and impressive feature of *TJ1* is the technical or philosophical translations, which are usually still used today, both in the general language and in scholarly studies and discussion. Only some of them are quoted here from Nagashima (1970: 105–06): *Affirmation* (肯定), *Cause* (原因), *Characteristic* (特質), *Condition* (状態), *Contradiction* (矛盾), *Criterion* (標準), *Differentiation* (分化), *Equality* (平等), *Factor* (要素), *Idiosyncrasy* (特質), *Impression* (印象), *Influence* (影響), *Method* (方法), *Negation* (否定), *Object* (客観), *Phenomenon* (現象), *Possibility* (可能性), *Rational* (合理的), *Reason* (理性), *Standard* (標準), *Subject* (主観), *Theory* (理論), *Truth* (眞實) and *Validity* (妥當).

Hida (1980) gives a chronological table of certain dictionaries that contain the headword *Philosophy* and its translation. He comes to the conclusion that *TJ1* is the first dictionary to give the translation equivalent 哲學 *tetsugaku*, which was coined by Amane Nishi (cf. 5.1.4.). (Though it should be noted that another translation equivalent 理學 *rigaku* is also used in the translation of some of the indented headwords under *Philosophy*.)

These facts help us realize that *TJ1* played a significant role in the collection and standardization of technical-term translations in the humanities in the early Meiji era; not a few of the equivalents are still indispensable to writing and discussion.

(Sections 5.–5.2. by Dohi)

5.3. *Kango*-Oriented Equivalents in *TJ1* and *TJ2*

In this section, we will examine the presentation of translational equivalents of *TJ1* and *TJ2*, and compare them with other English-Japanese dictionaries.

First we might as well note that, apart from the increase in volume, no remarkable change can be pointed out in *TJ2* in terms of translational equivalents. Almost all the entries in *TJ1* and *TJ2* are limited to one line, in which the headword is followed by a few Japanese equivalents and in some cases the subject field label. There are also a few cases in which an explana-

tory sentence is added after the equivalent (or the subject field label).

What is prominent here is that every equivalent, label, and explanatory sentence is given in *kanji*; in the dictionary texts of *TJ1* or *TJ2* there is no *katakana*, which is frequently used along with *kanji* to present translational equivalents in *ETSJ* (see Kokawa *et al.* 1994) and *EJ* (see Kokawa *et al.* 1996). There seem to be two reasons for this. One is that *TJ* is of an academic character. In Japanese sentences, academic, and therefore lexicalized terms are written in *kanji*, and not in *kana*, which are typically used for particles. The same English word may be translated differently in style according to the context in which it is used. The following examples show that *ETSJ* provides for its entries many equivalents that are *wago*, or Japanese words having their origins in the time before the introduction of Chinese and partly written in *kana*, whereas *TJ* provides for the same lexemes only *kango*, or lexicalized Chinese words written in *kanji*:

Abbreviation, *s.* 短カメル。略スル。 (*ETSJ*)

Abbreviation 約言、減筆 (*TJ2*)

Ability, *s.* 威勢。巧ナル。届ク手立。 (*ETSJ*)

Ability 力量 (*TJ1*, *TJ2*)

Hayakawa (1994: 18–19) notes that the difference between the two¹⁾ should be taken to be a matter of translationality or insertability (both of which are Zgusta's (1984: 147) terms), that words of Japanese origin (*wago*) are explanatory while Chinese words (*kango*) are translational, i.e. tend to fit into the translational sentences directly, and that for this reason Chinese words and characters were overproduced after the Meiji Restoration in order to adopt Western culture rapidly.

Another reason for not using *kana* is that *TJ* almost exclusively contains nouns and adjectives. Today, Japanese nouns are usually written in *kanji*, and adjectives²⁾ often take the form of “noun + postpositional particle.” In *TJ*, all the translational equivalents are written in *kanji*. Postpositional

1) Hayakawa compares *ETSJ* and *EJ*, but this comparison holds true with *ETSJ* and *TJ*.

2) Strictly speaking, it is the Japanese equivalent of an English adjective that often takes the form of “noun + postpositional particle.”

particles should always be written in *kana*, but *TJ* omits all such particles, hence no *kana* in it. Examples below show the difference between equivalents in *TJ* and those in a modern English-Japanese dictionary, *NGEJ*.

Adequate	適当、十全、(<i>TJ1</i>)
adequate	十分な; 適当な... (<i>NGEJ</i>)
Almighty	全能 (<i>TJ1, TJ2</i>)
almighty	全能の... (<i>NGEJ</i>)
Explicative	解説的 (<i>TJ1, TJ2</i>)
explicative	説明[解説]的な. (<i>NGEJ</i>)
Real	真実 (<i>TJ1, TJ2</i>)
real	真実の... (<i>NGEJ</i>)

As is clear from these examples, *TJ* omits the Japanese particles な *na* and の *no*, which are added after nouns to transform them into adjectives, and which should not be omitted today.

The list of translational equivalents in *TJ1* (Hida 1979) shows that some entries have common equivalents. There are 2,437 different equivalents in all. Among them are 236 equivalents that are used for two headwords (including indented ones, but excluding foreign words other than English), 25 for three headwords, and 8 for four headwords (恭敬 *kyokei* for *Discretion, Respect, Reverence, Worship*, 原由 *gen'yu* for *Causality, Causation, Ground, Origin*, 旨趣 *shishu* for *Denotation, Import, Meaning, Significance*, 実体 *jittai* for *Entity, Reality, Substratum, Thing in itself*, 心理学 *shinrigaku* for *Mental philosophy, Mental science, Phrenies, Psychology*, 性癖 *seiheki* for *Disposition, Humour, Inclination, Propensity*, 不信 *fushin* for *Disbelief, Discredit, Distrust, Doubt*, and 模範 *mohan* for *Archetype, Pattern, Prototype, Type*). Out of the 2,412 equivalents, 269 are used for more than one entry. The result is that some entries have no other equivalent than the common ones. For example, 格言 *kakugen* is the only equivalent for both *Apophthegm* and *Maxim*, and 勢力 *seiryoku* and 元氣 *genki* are the only equivalents for *Energy* and *Force*. Thus, no distinction in meaning could be made between these English lexemes. Cases like these show how difficult it was at the beginning of the Meiji era to distinguish the meaning of related items. This seems problematic by modern standards, but because the main purpose of compiling *TJ* was to settle the Japanese equivalents of

philosophical and other technical terms, as Inoue noted in the preface of *TJ3*, it should not be taken to be a fatal defect of *TJ*. Some of the problems above could have been solved by the use of postpositional particles. For example, both the adjective *Grave* and the noun *Severity* have the common equivalent 嚴肅 *genshuku*, but had the equivalent of *Grave* been provided with a postpositional particle, they would have easily been distinguished.

Sato (1992: 362–96) examines which authority each word in *TJ* is based on and, mainly from the fact that roughly half of the entries are based on classical Chinese books and had already been used in Japan, he reaches the conclusion that the equivalents that had proper authorities were preferentially taken into the dictionary. This is only natural because *TJ* was designed to settle the Japanese equivalents.

Sato (*ibid.*) also discusses the relationship between *TJ* and contemporaneous English-Japanese dictionaries such as *ECD* (1866–69) and *EJ2* (1882). We will consider this in the following sections.

(Section 5.3. by Kanazashi)

5.4. Influence of *TJ1* on *EJ2*

5.4.1. Overview

In this section we examine the influence of *TJ1* on *EJ2*, focusing on translation equivalents.¹⁾ There are two main reasons for choosing *EJ2* from among the dictionaries of the time. One is that the first edition of *EJ*, published in 1873, is considered to be a “monumental work in the history of English-Japanese lexicography, in its size, page and book format as well as the style and content of its dictionary material,”²⁾ and that its popularity was such that a second edition, *EJ2*, was published in 1882 and a revised second edition in 1887. Another reason is that the second edition came out just one year after the publication of *TJ1*, so we can readily observe any possible direct influence from *TJ1*.³⁾

1) For similar analyses comparing *TJ1* and *EJ2*, see Nagashima (1970) and Morioka (1991).

2) Kokawa *et al.* (1994: 117)

3) For a more detailed discussion of *EJ* itself, see Kokawa *et al.* (1994).

5.4.2. The sample data

In order to examine on the influence of *TJ1* on *EJ2*, we selected every fourth page of *TJ1* from page 1 onwards as sample material, and thus obtained about one quarter of the headwords, both main and indented. If the top headword of a sample page was indented, the unindented main headword on the previous page was included in the data; similarly, if the bottom entry extended to the following page, that too was taken into the analysis. In this way, we were able to examine 523 headwords altogether, including 133 indented headwords.¹⁾ As pointed out in 4.1.1, the total number of main headwords in *TJ1* is 1,562, and that of indented ones is 390. Thus our sample data covered about 25% of main headwords and about 34% of indented headwords. In terms of translation equivalents, *TJ1* includes 2,747 translations in all. Of these, 403 are listed under indented headwords. Our data covered 620 translations for main headwords, about 26% of the whole, and 139 for indented headwords, about 34%. The total number of translations we examined was thus 759 out of 2,747, about 28% of the whole.

5.4.3. Results

The result of our analysis is shown in Table 1. It is obvious from Table 1 that *TJ1* had a remarkable influence on *EJ2*. In terms of headwords, 74% (389 out of 523) contain translations which were introduced into *EJ2*. What is conspicuous here is that 92% (122 out of 133) of indented headwords in our sample contain translations adopted in *EJ2*, while the corresponding ratio for the main headwords is 68% (267 out of 390).²⁾ On the other hand, in terms of translations, 67% (512 out of 759) of translation equivalents in *TJ1* were newly introduced in *EJ2*. Here again, the ratio concerning adoption of indented headwords is higher than that of main headwords, thus 91% (127 out of 139) of *TJ1* translations in our sample are newly introduced in *EJ2*, while the figure for unindented main headwords

1) See Table 1 in the next subsection for more details of numerical matters.

2) The reason for this is quite simple: most of these indented headwords were themselves newly introduced in *EJ2*. The number of main headwords newly introduced in *EJ2* is rather lower, occupying only 5% of all the main headwords in our sample.

Table 1

	Main Headword	Indented Headword	Total
Headwords in <i>TJ1</i>	1,562	390	1,952
Headwords examined	390	133	523
Headwords containing translations adopted in <i>EJ2</i>	267	122	389
Translations in <i>TJ1</i>	2,344	403	2,747 ¹⁾
Translations examined	620	139	759
Translations adopted into <i>EJ2</i> from <i>TJ1</i>	385	127	512
Translations already appearing in <i>EJ1</i>	154	4	158

is 62% (385 out of 620).

It must be noted here that as many as 21% (158 out of 759) of *TJ1* translations in our sample had already appeared in *EJ1*, and that these translations remained in *EJ2*. If we take this into consideration, the ratio for the adoption of *TJ1* translations into *EJ2* will increase since these translations originating in *EJ1* are included in the numbers headed "Translations examined" in Table 1. Thus, the more precise ratios, which represent the amount of translations adopted in *EJ2* from *TJ1* and having nothing to do with *EJ1*, are 83% (385 out of 466) for main headwords, 94% (127 out of 135) for indented headwords, and 85% (512 out of 601) for the total headwords.

We are thus led to conclude that *TJ1* had a strong influence on *EJ2* in

1) When the term 全上, which means "the same as the above item," was given for the translation of a headword, it received the same count as the number of translation equivalents in the "above item."

It must also be noted here that the number represents the token of translations rather than the type. That is to say, if one type of translation is given for several headwords, it is counted for the number of headwords it represents. For example, 證據 *shoko* is presented for the headwords *Evidence*, *Proof*, and *Testimony* in *TJ1*, and in this case is counted three times.

terms of translation equivalents. However, a detailed examination of the manner in which *EJ2* adopted translations from *TJ1* reveals that the process of adoption was often rather rough and even careless, a matter that we will look at in detail in the following subsections.

5.4.4. Some evidences for sources

To begin our detailed discussion of the influence of *TJ1* on *EJ2*, it will be worth presenting some evidence to illustrate the fact that the compilers of *EJ2* actually used *TJ1* in the course of their revision, for, as we will see in 5.4.5, it is not an easy task to prove whether or not the compilers directly copied items from *TJ1* as long as we consider only the sameness of translations between the two dictionaries. Thus, in this subsection, we will briefly look at cases which lead us to conclude that the compilers of *EJ2* did in fact make use of *TJ1* to enrich its translation vocabulary.

5.4.4.1. Errors

In our sample, we find one case in which *EJ2* lists a misspelled word which is also misspelled in *TJ1*. As a related phrasal expression under *Diffusion*, *Low of diffusion* is listed instead of *Law of diffusion*. The phrase itself, together with its translation 蔓衍法 *man'enho*, is not listed in *EJ1*, and may thus be reasonably considered to have been introduced from another source than *EJ1*. In fact, the same expression, with its first word spelled *Low* and accompanied by exactly the same translation, is already included in *TJ1* as an indented headword under *Diffusion*. This is the most obvious example in our data to illustrate the fact that the adoption of translations was often done in a careless manner.

5.4.4.2. Explanations in the Chinese language

Some translations in *TJ1* are followed by notes written in the Chinese language, known as *kanbun*. According to the preface to *TJ1* these *kanbun* notes were written by Inoue himself; thus, although the translation in question might be cited from the source mentioned in the *kanbun* note, the note itself is original to *TJ1*. If such notes are found in other publications, they must have been copied from *TJ1*. In our sample from *TJ1* 18 transla-

tions contain such notational supplements. Of these, one is not listed in *EJ2* since the headword itself is not contained in the dictionary, 6 are not introduced despite having corresponding headwords listed in the dictionary, while 11 others are listed in *EJ2* under the same headwords as *TJ1* though they do not appear in *EJ1*. Two of these 11 are also accompanied by the same Chinese explanation as in *TJ1*. For example, *TJ1* gives 全成教 *zenseikyo* for the headword *Perfectionism* and adds a supplementary Chinese explanation which goes “按、昔嘗禍患、人所自招、若夫終身翼々、順天理而無所違、則或可以達圓滿至極之域矣、” Although *EJ1* has its own explanatory definition for this headword, which goes “現世ニ正課ヲ得ト言フ説、” *EJ2* abandons the original and completely copies both *TJ1*'s translation and the Chinese explanation.

5.4.5. Difficulties in identification

In the previous subsection we saw some cases which present clear evidence of *EJ2* copying from *TJ1*. However, it is usually not easy to specify whether or not a translation in question is actually taken from *TJ1*, especially when no clues can be observed within the entry. We will look at three types of difficulties we faced in the course of identifying the source of translations among the three dictionaries.

5.4.5.1. Causation

The first type of difficulty is exemplified by the headword *Causation*. The history of its translations in *EJ1*, *TJ1*, and *EJ2* is shown below:

<i>Causation</i>	<i>EJ1</i> :	使ル _レ 、因テ起コル _レ
	<i>TJ1</i> :	全上 [that is to say, 原由、原做力、] ¹⁾
	<i>EJ2</i> :	使ル _レ 。然ラシムル _レ 。有ラシムル _レ 。因テ起ル _レ 。 原由。原做力

If we compare the translations only under the headword *Causation*, we will conclude that *EJ2* takes two *kango* terms, 原由 *gen'yu* and 原做力 *gensaryoku*, from *TJ1*. However, if we look also at derivatives of the headword we find that *EJ1* has already used the *kango* term 原由 for the translation of

1) The item above *Causation* in *TJ1* is *Causality*, for which the dictionary gives 原由 and 原做力 as translation equivalents.

Causality:

Causality EJ1: 由縁、原由、根本

To make matters more complicated, as mentioned in footnote 1, *TJ1* lists the word *Causality* with the translations 原由 and 原做力:

Causality TJ1: 原由、原做力、

Thus, since *EJ1* has already used 原由 under *Causality* and *TJ1* uses the same translation for the same headword, it is plausible to claim that *TJ1* cites the *kango* term from *EJ1*. Nevertheless, it is *TJ1* that uses the term for the translation of the headword *Causation* for the first time. However, for a reason we will discuss further in 5.4.6.1, namely, that translations for the derivatives of headwords in our sample from *EJ2* are not influenced by *TJ1* translations, we omit derivatives of headwords from consideration. Thus we would like to consider 原由 under *Causation* as being newly introduced in *EJ2*.

5.4.5.2. *Reformation*

The case of *Reformation* poses another type of problem:

Reformation EJ1: 改正スル、改化スル、教化スル、改革、回復
 TJ1: 改化(宗)、
 EJ2: 改正。改化。教化。改革。回復。改心

As is clear from the chronological comparison above, *EJ2* contains the translation 改化 *kaika*, which has already been used by *TJ1*. However, it is also reasonable to claim that the copyright of the term belongs to *EJ*, in that the first edition of the dictionary uses the term 改化スル *kaika-suru-koto*, the stem of which —改化— is introduced in *TJ1*. Furthermore, when we look at other translations for *Reformation* in *EJ1* and *EJ2*, we realize that there is a principle connecting terms in *EJ1* and *EJ2*: in each case, the *wago* suffix スル *suru-koto* in the first edition is dropped in the second. As we will see in 5.4.6.3, there are several cases indicating that *EJ2* tends to prefer *kango* terms over *wago* counterparts; *wago*-based translations are, in fact replaced with short *kango* terms in many places. It might then seem more reasonable to attribute the deletion of the suffix スル not to the translation

in *TJ1* but rather to the general tendency underlying *EJ2*. However, if we posit that the tendency itself in *EJ2* toward *kango* terms developed during the course of quoting translations from *TJ1*, we might conclude that the change from 改化スル to 改化 is due to influence from *TJ1*.¹⁾ We, at any rate, would like to consider 改化 as being cited from *TJ1*.

5.4.5.3. *Transposable two-letter kango term*

In the early Meiji era certain *kango* terms composed of two Chinese characters sometimes appeared with the characters transposed. It is claimed that such pairs have basically the same meaning.²⁾ In our sample, we find *Annihilation* translated as 滅絶 *metsu-zetsu* in *EJ1* and *EJ2* on the one hand, and as 絶滅 *zetsu-metsu* in *TJ1* on the other. There are six other such pairs in our data, and the history of their treatment in the three dictionaries differs as in Table 2.

In the case of *Fact* and *Shape*, *EJ2* inverts the original translations and, as a result, presents those already introduced in *TJ1*. On the other hand, as regards *Annihilation*, it is clear that the translation in *EJ2* is not influenced by that in *TJ1*, as the original translation 滅絶 remains. Concerning this headword, *EJ2* copies two other translations from *TJ1*, namely, 成空 *seiku* and 歸無 *kimu*, so it is plausible to claim that the compilers of *EJ2* made use of *TJ1*. They encountered the inverted term, but chose not to adopt it. Nevertheless, it is hard to judge whether or not these cases actually fall into the category which Matsui (1981) claims to be invertible.

1) It should be noted here, however, that the presence of the label (宗) in *TJ1* and its absence in *EJ2* for the term 改化 should not be taken into consideration in this case. Although we do not know the principle that determined which type of label is to be used in each situation, in *EJ2*, when the field of use of the term is specified, it is basically indicated by the parenthetical phrases (...ニ云) ... *ni-iu* or (...ノ語) ... *no-go*, in which the leader "... " stands for the name of a field. Thus, 漸化 *zenka* for *Variation* is labeled as (生物學ニ云) *seibutsugaku-ni-iu*, or 氏族割據 *shizokukakkyo* for *Gentile system* is followed by the label (世態學ノ語) *setaigaku-no-go*. However, of 54 translations in our sample where the field of use is labeled in *TJ1*, 15 examples are labeled by the (...ニ云) type and 17 by the (...ノ語) type in *EJ2*; the remaining 22 examples are left unlabeled even though these translations can reasonably be assumed to have been cited from *TJ1*.

2) See Matsui (1981) for a more detailed discussion of this topic.

Table 2

	<i>EJ1</i>	<i>TJ1</i>	<i>EJ2</i>
<i>Annihilation</i>	滅絶	絶滅	滅絶
<i>Fact</i>	実事	事实	事实
<i>Idiocy</i>	愚癡	痴愚	愚癡 / 痴愚
<i>Insanity</i>	癡狂	狂癡	癡狂 / 狂癡
<i>Law</i>	×	理法	法理
<i>Shape</i>	象形	形象	形象

Insanity and *Idiocy* are more complicated cases. *EJ2* gives 癡狂 *ten-kyo* as one of the Japanese equivalents for *Insanity*, and in this respect is not influenced by *TJ1*, as the latter uses the inverted form 狂癡 *kyo-ten*. However, *EJ2* gives 衝動狂癡 *shodo-kyo-ten* as a translation of *Impulsive insanity*, which is listed as a phrasal expression under *Insanity*. Since the expression and its translation have already appeared in *TJ1* but not in *EJ1*, it is clear that *EJ2* has copied them. The question is why the compilers should have used the order 癡狂 for the translation of the headword while adopting the reversed form for the sub-headword.

Idiocy has a similar history. In *EJ1*, 愚癡 *gu-chi* is given for the translation, and this term remains in *EJ2*. On the other hand, *TJ1* introduces 痴愚 *chi-gu* for the same headword. It should be noted here that the difference between 癡 *chi* and 痴 *chi* lies simply in the fact that the latter is a simplified version of the former. The problem is that *EJ2* has both 愚癡 and 痴愚 as translations for the same headword side by side. Is it because these pairs are considered identical that they are presented within a single entry, or is the case quite opposite? And we must consider another possibility that these cases are nothing more than consequences of the careless compilation.

5.4.6. Patterns of adoption

In this subsection, we will look at the ways in which new translations originating in *TJ1* are adopted by *EJ2*.

5.4.6.1. Derivatives

One characteristic aspect of the manner in which *EJ2* adopts translations already introduced in *TJ1* is that, basically, translations of related derivatives are not influenced by the adoption of new translational terms. As an example, we may list the treatment of the headword *Abstraction* among the three dictionaries:

Abstraction *EJ1*: 拔萃、抽除、沈思、虚心、省畧、奥妙
TJ1: 抽象力、虚凝(心)、
EJ2: 拔萃。抽除。沈思。虚心。省畧。奥妙。抽象力。虚凝(心理學ニ云)

As is obvious, *EJ2* copies the translations 抽象力 *chusho-ryoku* and 虚凝 *kyogi* in *TJ1* and adds them to the array of its own translations. When we focus on the term 抽象力 here, we see that its related translation 抽象 *chusho* is also introduced in *TJ1* under the related headword *Abstract*:

Abstract *TJ1*: 抽象、虚形、形而上、按易繫辭、形而上者謂之道、

We might at least expect that 抽象 would then appear as one of the translations for *Abstract* in *EJ2*. The term, however, does not appear there in any of the related entries:

Abstract (v.) *EJ1*: 拔萃スル、省約スル、減少スル、除去スル、抜出ス
EJ2: 拔萃スル。省約スル。減少スル。除キ去ル。抜出ス
Abstract (adj.) *EJ1*: 異リタル、深意ノ、抜出シタル、難解ノ
EJ2: 異ナレル。深意ノ。抜出シタル。難シ解キ
Abstract (n.) *EJ1*: 拔萃、摘要、畧言、簡約
EJ2: 拔萃。摘要。畧言。簡約

5.4.6.2. Parts of speech

Labels concerning parts of speech are not attached to headwords in *TJ1*. This may be a natural consequence of the fact that the headwords in this dictionary are mainly philosophical technical terms, which are usually nouns. Nevertheless, *TJ1* does contain several non-nominal headwords, and this leads to confusion. That is to say, since translations are all *kango*-

based and most of the time no formal clue is available, it is not an easy task to identify the parts of speech of a headword that may function as more than one part of speech. *EJ2*, on the other hand, is equipped with a systematic labeling of parts of speech, and no such confusion occurs. Furthermore, unlike *TJ1*, *EJ2* differentiates suffixes of translations in accordance with their parts of speech. Those translations which might be copied from *TJ1* also follow this principle. Thus, although, as we will see, most of the imported translations are in fact nouns and are adopted without formal modification, *EJ2* is undoubtedly less *kango*-oriented than *TJ1*.

5.4.6.2.1. Adjectives

In *EJ2*, when *kango* terms are used for the translation of adjective headwords, they are usually suffixed by inflectional particles written in *katakana* characters. The new vocabulary adopted from *TJ1* also observes this principle. In our sample, 18 adjectival headwords contain 26 translations adopted by *EJ2*, all of which, with just one exception, fall into two types in terms of the way they are suffixed. Of these 26, 15 are suffixed by *ノ no*, thus for *Mediate*, 間接ノ *kansetsu-no* is given in *EJ2*, while in *TJ1* the non-suffixed *kango* term 間接 *kansetsu* is used. One of the 15 is originally post-modified by the *kango* adjectival marker 的 *teki* in *TJ1*. That is to say, the translation presented in *TJ1* for the headword *Explicative* is 解説的 *kaisetsu-teki*, which comprises the nominal *kango* 解説 *kaisetsu* and the adjectival marker 的. In the course of adopting this new term, the compilers of *EJ2* replaced this *kango* marker with its *wago* counterpart to finally produce 解説ノ *kaisetsu-no*.¹⁾

The other major suffix used to modify the *kango* translations in *EJ2* is ナル *naru*. For example, 不安定 *fuantei* for *Instable* in *TJ1* becomes 不安定ナル *fuantei-naru* in *EJ2*. However, it is difficult to specify any difference between cases using *ノ* and those using ナル. The difference cannot be

1) Outside our sample, *TJ1* contains 29 other translations which end with this adjective marker 的. Of these, 8 are not adopted in *EJ2* because the headwords themselves are not included: 9 other translations are not adopted even though their corresponding headwords are listed. The remaining 12 translations are all adopted, and in all cases the *kango* adjective marker 的 is replaced by the *wago* counterpart *ノ*.

attributed to the headwords since the two types of suffix can coexist within an entry: under *Bad*, for example, we have both 不全ナル *fuzen-naru* and 凶邪ノ *kyoja-no*, and *Recondite* has 艱深ノ *kanshin-no* and 隱晦ナル *inkai-naru* as translations. The original *kango* terms also fail to provide us with a distinction: 多様 *tayo* becomes 多様ノ *tayo-no* in *EJ2*, but 多様ナル *tayo-naru* seems no less adequate than 多様ノ, at least from the perspective of contemporary Japanese. We have one exceptional headword in our sample, in which no suffix is added to the original *kango* term. The word is *One*. The original translation in *TJ1*, 一個 *ikko*, is adopted without any suffixation in the entry headed by *One*, which is labeled “a,” standing for “adjective.” However, *EJ2* explains that the word is “Used as a substitute for a noun,” so the translation 一個 might be said to represent the case in which the word is used nominally.

5.4.6.2.2. Verbs

There are two verbal headwords in our sample, *Elicit* and *Think*, the translations of which are copied in *EJ2*. In both cases, the original *kango* expression introduced in *TJ1* is suffixed by the verbal marker スル *suru*. Thus, 證明 *shomei* for *Elicit* becomes 證明スル *shomei-suru*, and 思惟 *shii* for *Think* becomes 思惟スル *shii-suru*.

5.4.6.2.3. Nouns

Unlike adjectives and verbs none of the nominal *kango* translations adopted in *EJ2* are modified, with one exception. The exception is the term 同一 *doitsu* headed by *Identity*, which is modified as 同一ナルノ *doitsu-naru-koto* in *EJ2*. The term is first suffixed by the adjectival marker ナル, then the whole compound is post-modified by the nominal marker ノ *koto*. However, again, it is not clear why this translation is the only one to receive such modification. If 同一ナルノ is to be preferred to 同一 as the translation of a noun ending with -ty, 相對 *sotai* for *Relativity*, which is also adopted from *TJ1*, might well have been suffixed as 相對ナルノ *sotai-naru-koto* rather than be simply copied. Furthermore, at least as far as nominal translations (presumably) copied from *TJ1* are concerned, *EJ2* shows a slight tendency to prefer *kango* expressions. Some of these cases have al-

ready been pointed out in 5.4.5.2. The case of 同一 obviously goes against this trend.

5.4.6.3. Replacement

In most cases, new translations adopted from *TJ1* are simply added to the original array of *EJ1* translations:

<i>Amphibology</i>	<i>EJ1</i> : 兩意ノ説、不審ノ説
	<i>TJ1</i> : 汎意
	<i>EJ2</i> : 兩意ノ説。不審ノ説。汎意

Or *EJ2* may include some translations which are presumably cited from other sources than *TJ1*:

<i>Axiom</i>	<i>EJ1</i> : 確論、不拔ノ論、格言
	<i>TJ1</i> : 單元(數)
	<i>EJ2</i> : 確論。不拔ノ論。不易ノ理。格言。公論。單元(數學ニ云)

In this case, the non-*TJ1* terms 不易ノ理 *fuekinori* and 公論 *koron* together with the *TJ1* term 單元 *tangen* are added to the original translational array of *EJ1*. The majority of the cases in our sample fall into one of these patterns. However, there are other cases in which one or several original translations in *EJ1* are replaced with *TJ1* translations which signify almost the same concept as those which are abandoned. The main principle behind such replacement seems to be a preference for *kango* terms.

Unlike *TJ1*, *EJ1* gives quite a few *wago*-based explanatory definitions: one example has already been given in 5.4.4.2. The important point here is that these explanations are not given in the form of notes to the translations, but as translations themselves. They are also written in simple Japanese. Given this, although it is true that *EJ1* introduced huge number of *kango* terms into its translational vocabulary, it is reasonable to say that the compilers were not at this stage completely inclined to what might be called the *kango* suprematism seen in *TJ1*. This is also supported by the fact that most of the *kango* terms in *EJ1* are accompanied by corresponding *wago* terms. On the other hand, in *EJ2*, this principle is abandoned, and there are only a few cases in which *wago* terms are listed with *kango* coun-

terparts. *EJ2* approaches *TJ1* in terms of its attitude toward translation.

In our sample, we find other cases indicating such a tendency: *wago* explanatory definitions are replaced with *kango* expressions already adopted by *TJ1*. The following historical list of translations for the headword *Interference* proves the point:

<i>Interference</i>	<i>EJ1</i> : 居間、挿出ル、他人ノ事ニ渉ル、衝突ル、脚ト脚ト衝突ル
	<i>TJ1</i> : 阻礙、障礙、干涉主義(政)
	<i>EJ2</i> : 阻礙。障礙。干涉主義(政理學ニ云)。居間。挿嘴。衝突。脚ト脚トノ衝突

Here it is clear that three completely new forms — 阻礙 *sogai*, 障礙 *shogai*, and 干涉主義 *kansho-shugi* — are introduced in *EJ2* under the influence of *TJ1*, and one *wago* form, 他人ノ事ニ渉ル, is omitted. When we focus on the meaning of these items rather than their formal aspect, while 阻礙 and 障礙 do not seem to have corresponding translations in *EJ1*, we see that the concept of 他人ノ事ニ渉ル almost, if not completely, corresponds to that of 干涉主義, and it might be plausible to say that the third *wago* equivalent in *EJ1*, 他人ノ事ニ渉ル, is simply replaced by a *kango* equivalent 干涉主義. The translations for *Extradition* have a similar but more straightforward history:

<i>Extradition</i>	<i>EJ1</i> : 逃入タル罪人ヲ交付ス (政府ヨリ政府ニ)
	<i>TJ1</i> : 亡命送還、
	<i>EJ2</i> : 亡命送還

In *EJ1*, the headword is presented with a *wago* explanatory definition 逃入タル罪人ヲ交付ス (政府ヨリ政府ニ). On the other hand, *TJ1* gives the *kango* term 亡命送還 *bomei-sokan*, which is simply adopted by *EJ2*. There is one case in our sample, where the original *wago* explanatory expression remains in *EJ2* while the *kango* counterpart to the expression is also imported from *TJ1*:

<i>Optimism</i>	<i>EJ1</i> : 萬物人ヲ益スルト言フ説
	<i>TJ1</i> : 樂天教、
	<i>EJ2</i> : 樂天教 (萬物人ヲ益スルト言フ説)

This might be another piece of evidence for the claim that the tendency toward *kango* suprematism seen in *EJ2* is not as thoroughgoing as that in *TJ1*.

Some *wago* terms, which are relatively shorter than *wago* explanatory definitions, are also replaced with *kango* counterparts under the influence of *TJ1*. Several of these terms are concerned with religion:

Table 3

	<i>EJ1</i>	<i>EJ2</i>
<i>Gospel</i>	經典ノ名	福音書
<i>Schism</i>	宗派の區別	門派
<i>Theism</i>	唯一神ノ信仰	信神教
<i>Gnosticism</i>	全上ノ教 ¹⁾	諾斯土教

All these *kango* terms in *EJ2* have already been introduced in *TJ1*. We may add to this table the headword *Persecution*. The original *EJ1* translations for this word are 苦メル^レ *kurushimeru-koto*, 悩ス^レ *nayamasu-koto*, and 残酷ニスル^レ *zankokuni-suru-koto*. All three of these translations are abandoned in *EJ2*, and the *TJ1* term 害迫 *gaihaku* is introduced accompanied by a label, (宗教ノ語) *shukyo-no-go* [religious term].

(Section 5.4. by Osada)

5.5. Translations in *TJ2*

In the above section a comparison was made between *TJ1* and *EJ2*. Here the focus is on *TJ2*. *TJ2* enlarged the number of headwords and partly revised and added translations. This section is divided into two parts, the first being concerned with the new translations added to existing entries, and the second with the translations for new headwords.

1) As pointed out in footnote 1 of Table 1, 全上 means the same as the above item, and in this case it is the headword *Gnostic* that is referred to, for which 往古ノ理學者流ノ一 is given. Thus, the translation for the headword *Gnosticism* might be something like 往古ノ理學者流ノ一ノ教.

5.5.1. Translations added in *TJ2*

A brief survey was made of new translations for existing main headwords from A to G (51 pages out of 136), with the exception of those in Latin or German. As a result, 83 new translations in 70 headwords (out of more than 600) were found to have been added. It can be safely said that in *TJ2* only a few translations are revised and more new ones added. Some examples of the latter, which are still used in present-day Japanese, are given: *Barter* (交換), *Canon* (教會法), *Conservatism* (保守主義), *Consideration* (約因), and *Correlation* (相關). Other examples include *Action* (訴訟), *Analysis* (分析), and *Development* (發達) as well as *Botany* (植物學) mentioned below. Some examples of terms no longer used today are given: *Character* (資性), *Conclusion* (斷案), *Consanguinity* (同統), *Criticism* (鑑識). Some of the translations added are not given even in *TJ3*: *Abnegation* (不承當), *Adequate* (能當) and *Diversity* (參差), for example (cf. 5.6.).

The new translations in A to G were checked against *EJ1* and *EJ2*, *ECD1* and *ECD2*, and *ETSJ*. The following method is used: only translations with the same order of *kanji* in *TJ2* and the relevant dictionary are considered to be the same (cf. 5.4.5.3.). The table below shows the result. One example is given for each dictionary when possible.

<i>ETSJ</i>	0	
<i>EJ1</i>	0	
<i>EJ2</i>	7	(eg) <i>Botany</i> (植物學)
<i>EJ1&2</i>	3	(eg) <i>Affinity</i> (親和力)
<i>ECD1&2</i>	6	(eg) <i>Advancement</i> (進益)
<i>EJ1&2, ECD1&2</i>	2	(eg) <i>Alliance</i> (會盟)
None	65	

It should not be inferred from this table that, for instance, seven new translations in *TJ2* are all directly taken from *EJ2*. The translation of *Botany*, for example, is already found in the second and revised edition of *ETSJ* (1866) (Sugimoto 1985:487), or in Amane Nishi's 『百學連環』

Hyakugaku-renkan (Encyclopedia) (Sato 1992:305), which was based on a series of lectures given around 1870. It could be argued nonetheless that the great influence of *EJ* could not be ignored. The important fact is that the translation appeared in another dictionary or someone's work, and *TJ2* naturally followed the example.

The total of 18 is about a fifth of all the translations added, but it seems clear that the translations in *EJ* and *ECD* are part of what Inoue calls his predecessors' translations. What is more important, *TJ2* seems to have tried to provide more translations by collecting from other sources including English-Chinese dictionaries and partly revising, or by careful coining.

5.5.2. Translations of new headwords in *TJ2*

As in the above section, a brief survey was carried out of the translations for new headwords from A to G in *TJ2*. 242 headwords and 277 translations were found to have been added. In B and C, more than 50 translations are given under 38 new headwords. Translations still used today are: *Barbarian* (野蠻人), *Betrothal* (婚約), *Bill* (議案), *Biography* (傳記), *Chancellor* (大法官), *Commons* (平民), *Court* (裁判所), *Cumulation* (累積). Some examples of translations no longer in use are: *Blame* (規諫、非議), *Burlesque* (譏辭、笑言), *Contrast* (反對), *Culmination* (極期、頂嶺), *Cursory* (急卒、疎漏、忙速). Many of the translations in the latter group are, from the viewpoint of present-day usage, stilted or unsatisfactory, but it is nevertheless true that the *kango* used in the translation equivalents seem to explain the meaning rather accurately. This is at least partly because those involved in the undertaking were able to correctly read and understand the notion or idea in foreign languages.

All the new translations under the main headwords from A to G were examined as to whether they had already appeared in the other dictionaries cited. Below is shown the result. One example is shown when possible, except those given only in *ECD2*. (The number in parentheses is the number of translations found in *ETSJ*.)

<i>EJ1</i>	0	
<i>EJ2</i>	5	(eg) <i>Culmination</i> (極期)
<i>EJ1&2</i>	31 (4)	(eg) <i>Colony</i> (殖民)
<i>ECD1</i>	0	
<i>ECD2</i>	12 (1)	(eg) <i>Aborigines</i> (土蕃), <i>Brevity</i> (簡短), <i>Dejection</i> (失志), <i>Demi-god</i> (半神半人), <i>Emblem</i> (表記), <i>Fault</i> (差過)
<i>ECD1&2</i>	29 (3)	(eg) <i>Adult</i> (成丁)
<i>ECD1&2, EJ1</i>	1	(eg) <i>Abuse</i> (妄用)
<i>ECD1&2, EJ2</i>	5	(eg) <i>Adversity</i> (苦楚)
<i>ECD2, EJ1</i>	0	
<i>ECD2, EJ2</i>	1	(eg) <i>Accuser</i> (原告)
<i>ECD2, EJ1&2</i>	5	(eg) <i>Generous</i> (寬大)
<i>ECD1&2, EJ1&2</i>	15 (3)	(eg) <i>Guilt</i> (罪)
None	173 (8)	

Compared with the result in the above section, the total number (104) of translations in the other dictionaries is about six times larger. The number of translations found in *ECD1&2* and *ECD2* is the largest, which shows that some of the Chinese translations in *ECD* clearly had an influence on those in *TJ2*, as they were considered to be exact or near equivalents as technical terms. It is interesting that there should be some connection between *ECD2* and *TJ2*, both of which were edited or enlarged by Inoue himself. It is quite conceivable that Inoue used the same translations in certain headwords. Even when the number of translations given only in *EJ1* and *EJ2* is excluded, the total number related to *ECD1* and/or *ECD2* amounts to 68, which constitutes about one fourth of the total.

Admitting that not all of the translations come directly from the dictionaries cited, as in the case of *Botany* above, the table seems to show that (1) the *EJs*, which were considered to be of far more general use in their period, had some influence on the selection of translations in *TJ2*; (2) the

ECDs had a stronger influence on *TJ2* (cf. 5.2.); (3) *TJ2*, related to *ECD2* and edited by Inoue himself, tries to give or create far more translations not directly taken or borrowed from *ECD* and/or *EJ*, by studying other sources.

These facts also help us realize that the young editors of the *TJs* could not avoid the traditional way of selecting translations, that is, referring to various dictionaries (or related works), and very carefully selecting among and adapting the translations they found.

5.6. Translations in *TJ3*

TJ3, published 28 years later at the end of the Meiji era, contains a far larger number of new translations than its predecessors. *TJ3* is no longer only a dictionary of technical terms but has become a more encyclopedic reference book (cf. 4.3.7.).

In *TJ3* the modern translations of various words appear. Examples are *Æsthetics* (美學), *Association* (連想), *Being* (存在), *Classification* (分類), *Culture* (文化), *Destiny* (運命), *Experiment* (實驗), *Form* (形式), and *Future* (将来). Examples of adjectives still used today are *Material* (物質的), *Mechanical* (機械的), *Negative* (否定的), and *Systematic* (系統的). In some entries new translations are given as the first ones: *Ability* (才能) and *Eloquence* (雄辯), for example. But it is also true that more difficult translations are often given: *Difficult* and *Difficulty*, for example. The use of difficult *kanji* seems to have been given priority over the provision of more exact translations, a practice that we must regard as reprehensible.

The majority of translations, however, remain as before. This can be shown by a brief survey from A to G. *TJ3* still contains 53 headwords (out of 70) and 63 translations (out of 83) added in *TJ2*. *TJ3* also contains 173 new headwords out of 242 and 227 new translations out of 277 in the new headwords in *TJ2*. But it is also true that in some entries all the translations are replaced with new ones: *Abnormal* (違則的、異常的), *Achievement* (勤成、完功、功績), *Adhesion* (附着、固着、一致), *Apology* (辨護、辨解), for example. The number of headwords in which all the old translations are replaced with new ones is 81 out of more than 800. The number in the case of the new headwords in *TJ2* is 30 out of 81, which is surprisingly large.

Some examples are: *Abortive* (未熟發生), *Adoption* (養入、養取、採用), *Appropriation* (分置、専用). 69 new headwords in *TJ2* out of 242 do not contain the old translations. The facts that some of the 242 headwords are deleted in *TJ3* and that new translations are added to many headwords would seem to indicate the state of flux in the Meiji era.¹⁾

5.7. Overview of *TJ*

TJ was the first technical-term dictionary in the social and human sciences. As has been made clear above, it employed the orthodox method of translation in that many of the translations were directly borrowed or based on predecessors' works, including *ECD*, classical Chinese literature and some enlightened works of the early Meiji era. The authors' profound knowledge of *kango*, in addition to their ability to accurately read and understand philosophical terms in Western literature, made it possible to try to provide fixed translations, though it is true that some of the terms they had to deal with were beyond their understanding. Their work had a notable influence on modern Japanese vocabulary, especially on the vocabulary of the humanities.

English studies in Japan can not be said to have paid sufficient attention to the work, with the exception of the study by D. Nagashima (1970), and it was mainly dealt with in the field of Japanese linguistic studies. From the viewpoint of the establishment of technical-term translations in the humanities in the development of English-Japanese dictionaries, *TJ* is worthy of greater attention, examination, and critical appraisal.²⁾

(Sections 5.5.–5.7. by Dohi)

6. Conclusion

In the early part of the Meiji era, which lasted nearly half a century and

1) In *TJ3* more attention should have been paid to the translations of German headwords, because German philosophy was so eagerly studied in the Meiji era and it was only to be expected that its terminology would be translated in some way (cf. 4.3.1.).

2) The translation equivalents in the Meiji era are of great importance not only because they had a strong influence on the making of modern Japanese vocabulary but also because some of them have been taken into modern Chinese vocabulary (cf. Shin 1994).

was a time when the whole country set itself to catch up with the West, translation was of the utmost importance, and technical-term dictionaries played a significant role in unifying and standardizing equivalents for terms of foreign origin. *TJ*, which was first published in the 14th year of Meiji to try to meet such demands, had a far greater influence than other specialist dictionaries published at the time upon technical terms (especially in the humanities) as well as the more ordinary sector of the Japanese language, which was also recorded in *TJ*. It also exerted an influence upon other subsequent dictionaries, including *EJ2* (see 5.4.), while *TJ* itself drew upon the resources of preceding publications such as *ECD* and *EJ1* and of Chinese classical literature.

TJ was compiled by Tetsujiro Inoue and his friends and colleagues from Tokyo University. They all studied philosophy as introduced into our country by Amane Nishi, but their individual academic interests were so varied as to include political science, economics, law, psychology, history, theology, and other fields. They all had the privilege of studying in Europe and America and later became successful in their careers, which were mostly academic. This wide range of specializations, experience and expertise by the authors doubtless helped to bring about the success, authority and influence that their collaborative effort had.

TJ's translations are very much *kango*-oriented (Section 5), and it employed many special or difficult *kanji*, especially in its third edition, which may provoke criticism of it as a reference work. However, one might defend *TJ* by saying that, as the settlement of translation equivalents was the main purpose of the dictionary, language that had proper authority had to be given precedence.

The third edition of *TJ* has much more information on non-English terms and is far more encyclopedic than the preceding two editions (Section 4). This 1912 edition may be revisited in due course when we review the momentous dictionaries that were to appear later.

TJ was unique in that, although it was a special-field dictionary rather than a general lexicon, it had a great impact upon the late-19th-century development of Japanese language and lexicography. We would like to turn our attention to other major and influential dictionaries of that period

in the following installments of our historical project.

CITED DICTIONARIES AND THEIR ABBREVIATIONS

- ETSJ* *Eiwa-Taiyaku-Shuchin-fisho* (『英和对訳袖珍辞書』), 1st ed., Ed. by T. Hori *et al.* Yedo: Yosho Shirabesho, 1862
- ECD1* *English Chinese Dictionary, with the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation* (『英華字典』), 2 Vols. Ed. by W. Lobscheid. Hong Kong: Daily Press, 1866–69.
- ECD2* *An English Chinese Dictionary*, Revised and enlarged (『増訂英華字典』), Ed. by W. Lobscheid, revised and enlarged by T. Inoue. Tokyo: J. Fujimoto, 1883–84. Reprinted ed. Tokyo: Yumani Shobo, 1995.
- EJ1* *Fuon-Sozu-Eiwa-Jii* (『附音挿英和字彙』), Ed. by M. Shibata and T. Koyasu. Yokohama: Nisshusha, 1873.
- EJ2* *Zoho-Teisei-Eiwa-Jii* (『増補訂正英和字彙』), Ed. by M. Shibata and T. Koyasu. Yokohama: Nisshusha, 1882.
- NGEJ* *The New Global English-Japanese Dictionary*. Tokyo: Sanseido, 1994.
- TJ1* *Tetsugaku-Jii* (『哲学字彙』), Ed. by T. Inoue *et al.* Tokyo: The Imperial University of Tokyo, 1881. Reprinted ed. Tokyo: Meichofukyukai, 1980.
- TJ2* *Tetsugaku-Jii*, Revised and enlarged (『改訂増補哲学字彙』), Ed. by T. Inoue and N. Ariga. Tokyo: Toyokan, 1884. Reprinted ed. Tokyo: Meichofukyukai, 1980.
- TJ3* *Ei-Doku-Futsu-Wa Tetsugaku-Jii: Dictionary of English, German, and French Philosophical Terms with Japanese Equivalents* (『英独仏和哲学字彙』), Ed. by T. Inouye, Y. Matora and R. Nakashima. Tokyo: The Maruzen Kabushiki-Kaisha, 1912. Reprinted ed. Tokyo: Maruzen Company Ltd., 1921. Reprinted ed. of the 1921 edition. Tokyo: Meichofukyukai, 1980.
- VP2* *The Vocabulary of Philosophy, Mental, Moral, and Metaphysical; with Quotations and References for the Use of Students*, 2nd ed. Ed. by William Fleming. London: Charles Griffin, 1858.
- VP3* *The Vocabulary of Philosophy, Mental, Moral, and Metaphysical; with Quotations and References for the Use of Students*, 3rd ed. Ed. by William Fleming, revised by Henry Calderwood. London: Charles Griffin, 1876.

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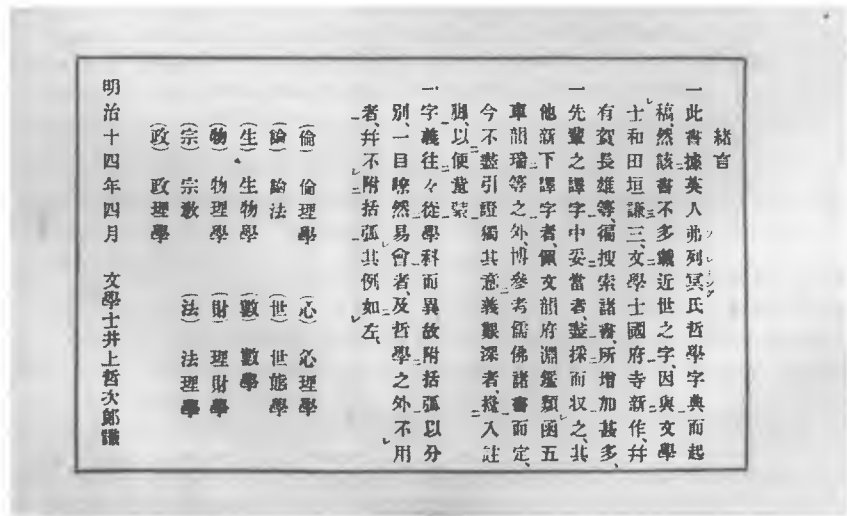
APPENDIX: Photographic reproductions of *TJ1*, *TJ2*, and *TJ3*

Reproduced here are a few pages from *TJ1*, *TJ2*, and *TJ3*, by courtesy of The University of Tokyo General Library (東京大学附属図書館, Hongo, Tokyo) for *TJ1* and *TJ2* and of Waseda University Library (早稲田大学中央図書館, Waseda, Tokyo) for *TJ3*.

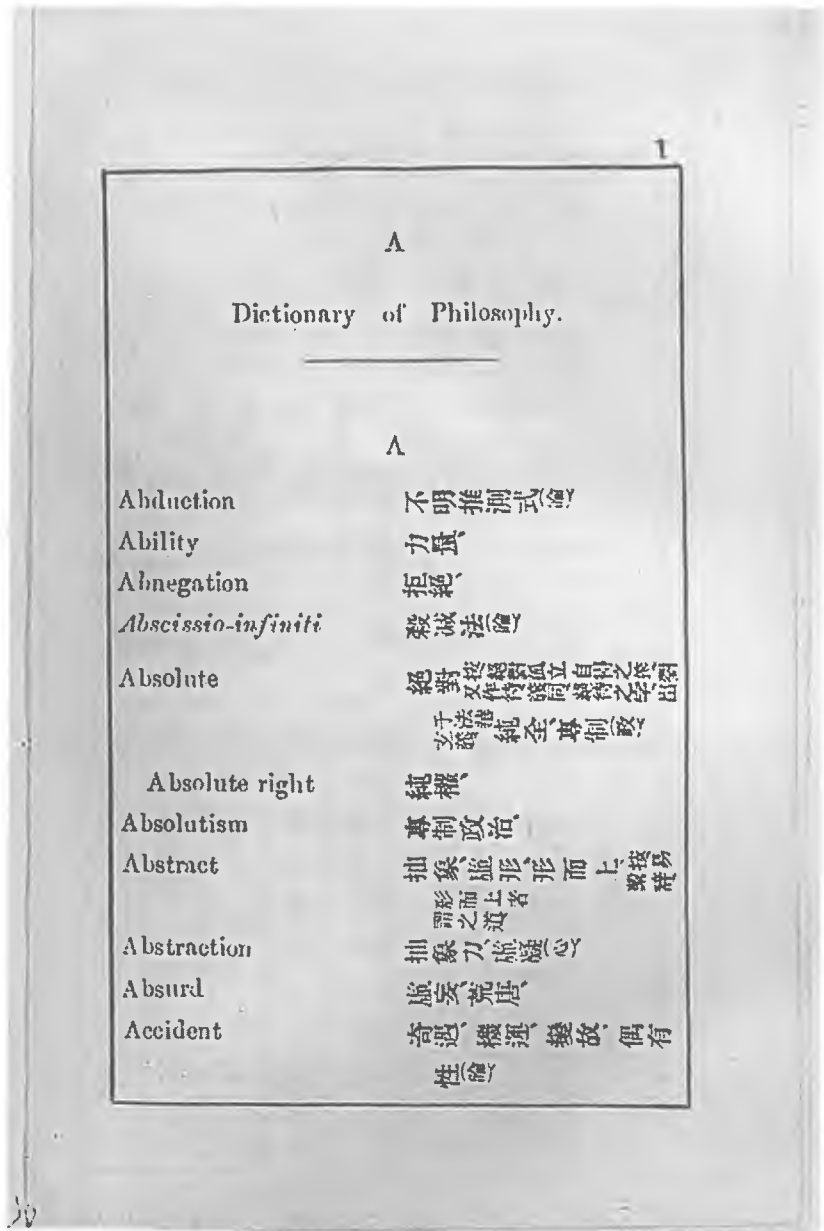
(1996年12月15日受理)



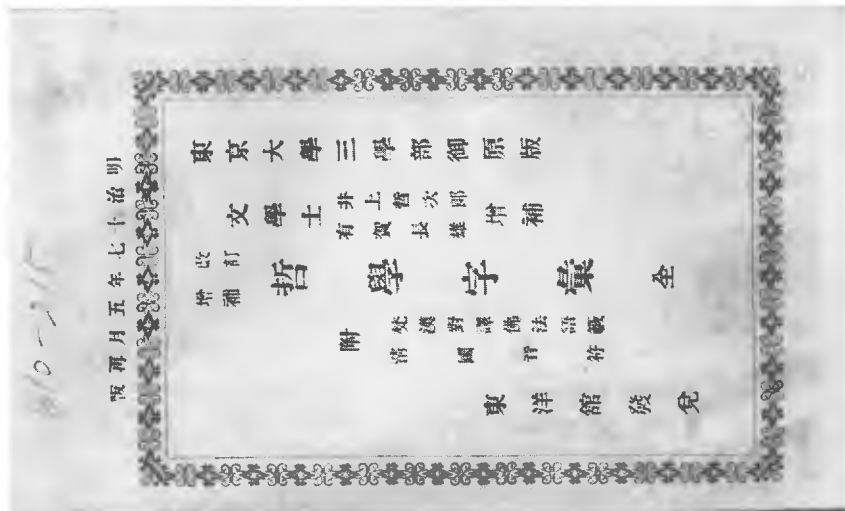
Photograph 1. Japanese title page, T/1



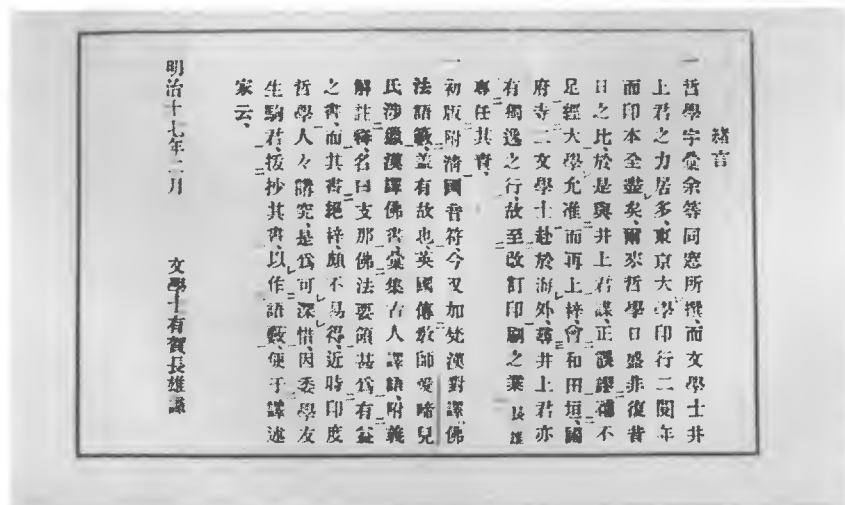
Photograph 2. Preface, T/1



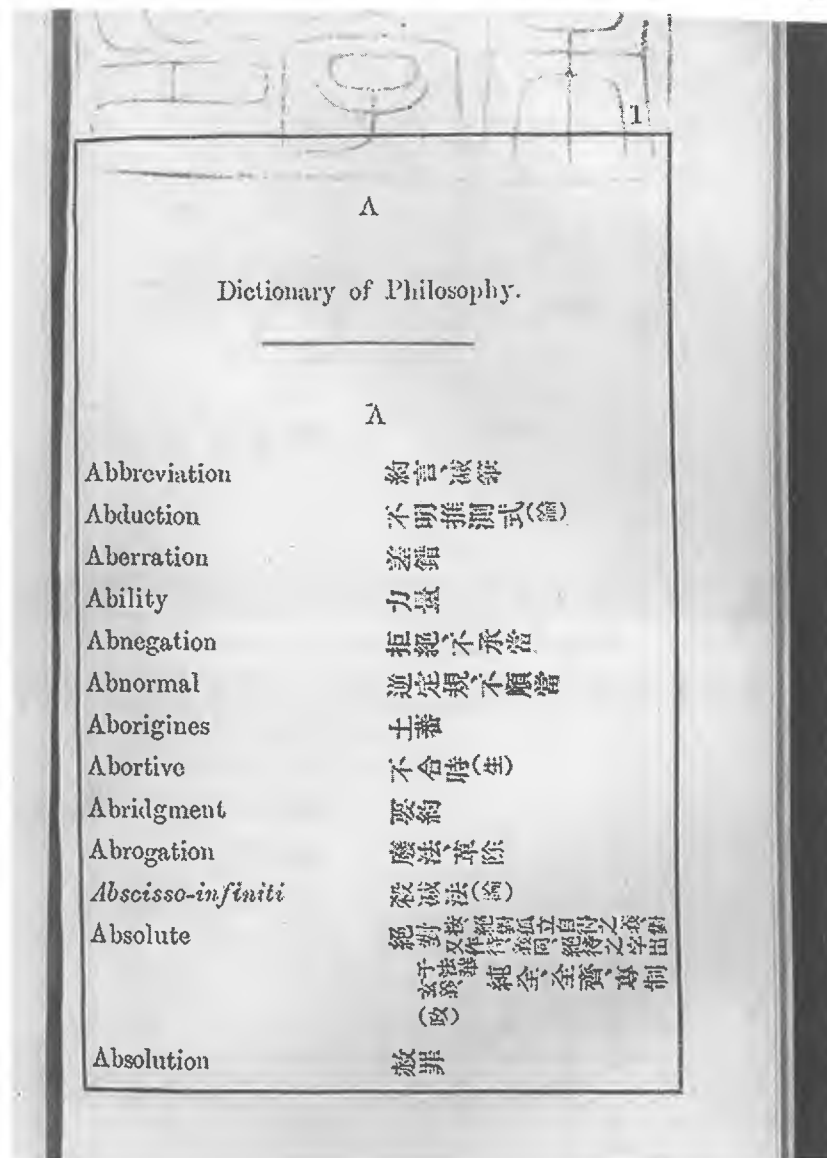
Photograph 3. Dictionary text of T/1, page 1



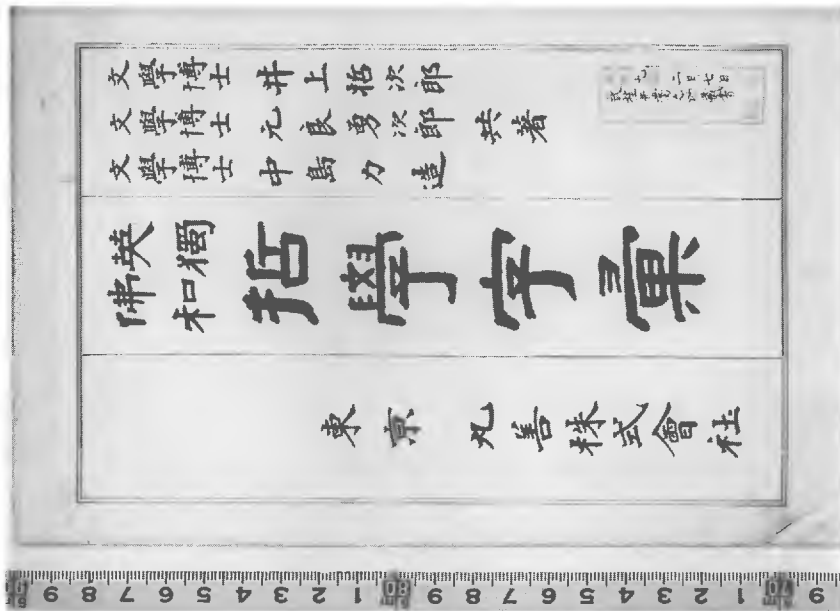
Photograph 4. Japanese title page, T/2



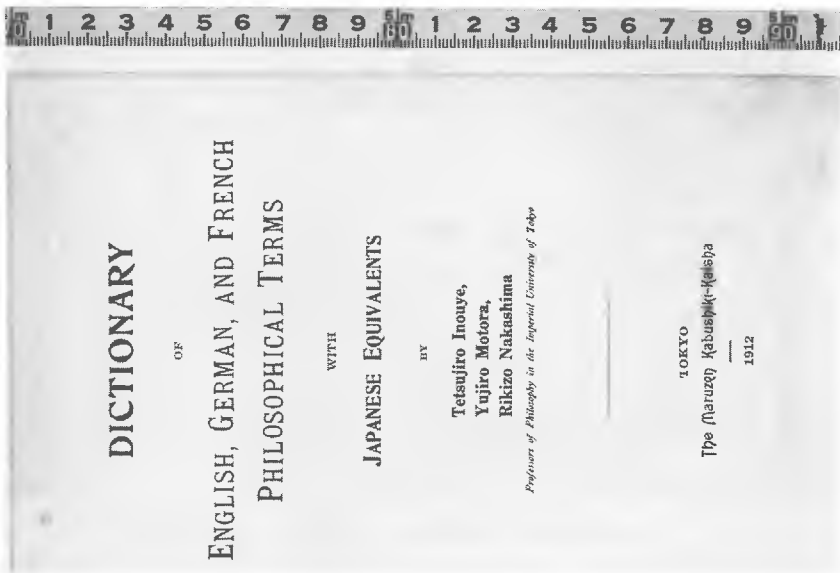
Photograph 5. Preface, T/2



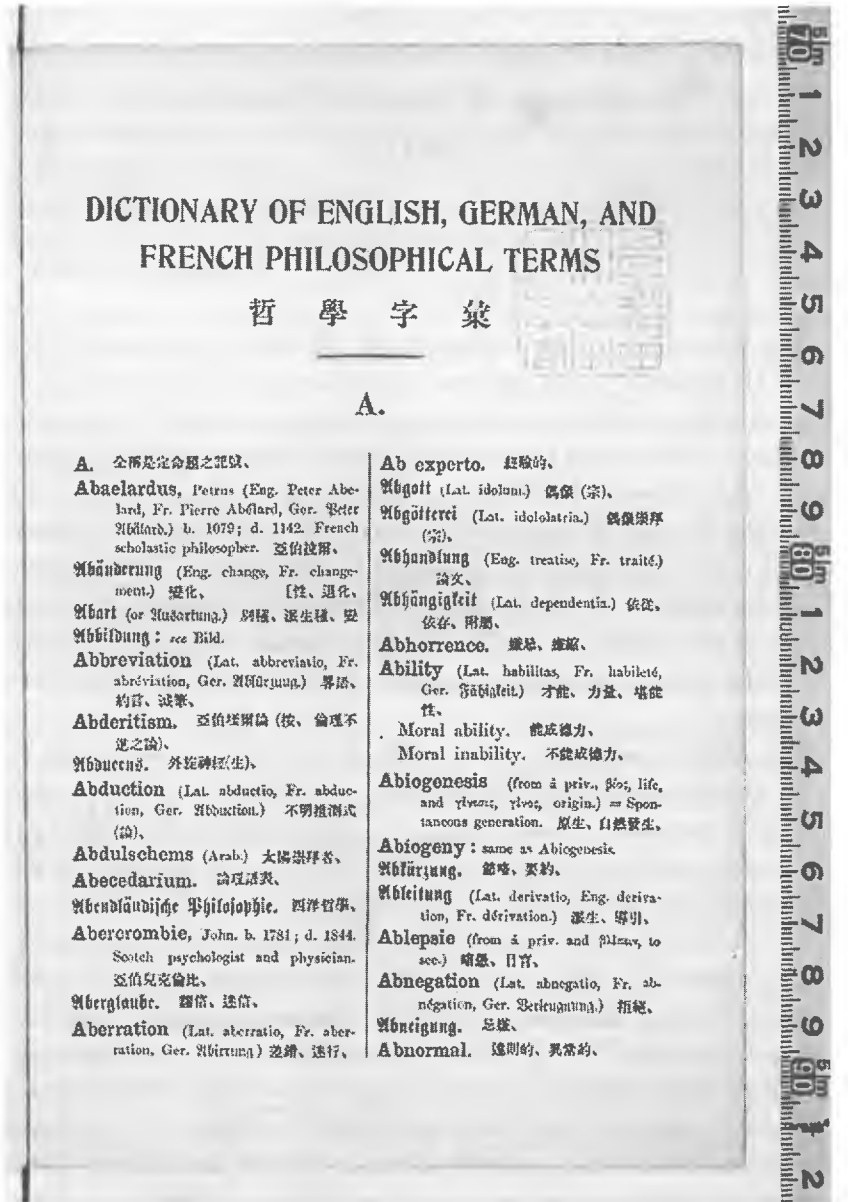
Photograph 6. Dictionary text of T/2, page 1



Photograph 7. Japanese title page, T/3



Photograph 8. English title page, T/3



Photograph 9. Dictionary text of T/3, page 1

Antedatings of Japanese Loanwords in the *OED*²

ISAMU HAYAKAWA

The first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* gave particulars of some 60 Japanese words admitted as having existed or existing in the English language. However, it had an enormous number of unexpected omissions, and went out of date because of the drastic changes in the post-war world. The second edition that had been eagerly awaited appeared in 1989, and the most intriguing of its contents were the numerous additions of words of foreign origin. It contributed a generous quota to the words of Japanese origin, and contained approximately 380 Japanese loanwords, exclusive of their derivatives. The coverage of the words may be sufficient for users, but their lexical descriptions are assumed to be still far from complete.

The *OED* is particularly valuable because it attempts to provide the users with the earliest date and the context of the first appearance of a word in English literature. "The *OED* editors, however, have never claimed that the earliest quotations cited are the first to have appeared in print, and they were fully aware of the hazards of doing so. In fact, James Murray once observed that probably three-quarters of the headwords could be antedated." (Donna Lee Berg: *A Guide to the Oxford English Dictionary*, OUP, 1993, p. 91) It is, therefore, safe to assert that many Japanese words have escaped the notice of hundreds of contributors to the *OED*, and have quotation citations as first appearing in much later works. Nevertheless, to the best of my knowledge, no comprehensive examinations of quotations for Japanese borrowings earlier than those given in the *OED* have been carried out since the publication of "The Influence of Japanese on English" by E.V. Gatenby in 1931. My detailed scrutiny of about forty Eng-

lish books on Japan has revealed that about 100 Japanese loanwords, including derivatives, appeared earlier than the dates assigned in the *OED*² and its *Additions Series* (1993). The following is a list of antedatings of the Japanese borrowings, and the texts in which they occur. The former date in round brackets following the word is that of the first recorded appearance found in the *OED*² and the latter is an earlier date found by me which is to be given after an arrow in the brackets.

Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza: *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China and the Situation Thereof*. Translated out of Spanish by R. Parke in 1588. Reprinted and edited by Sir George T. Staunton. New York: Burt Franklin, Originally published in 1854, and reprinted in 1970. 2 volumes.

- Japanese (1604 → 1588) . . . , that these Japonen in old time were Chinas, and that they came from that mightie kingdome vnto these ilands, . . . [Vol. II, p. 294] [*Japanese* in the sense of a native of Japan.]
- Ryukyu (1808 → 1588) . . . : excepting such as would of their owne good will acknowledge vassalage, and giue him tribute, and remaine friends, as vnto this day the Lechios and other nations do. [I 94]

The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613. Edited from contemporary records by Sir Ernest M. Satow. Reproduced by permission of Hakluyt Society from the edition originally published by the Society in 1900. New York: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967.

- dairi (1662 → 1613) From my castell in Sorongo this 4 daye of the 9 moneth, and in the 18th yeare of our Darye according to our Computacion. [8 October, 1613, p. 137]
- Japan (*attrib.*) (1673 → 1613) George Peeterson the Flushingier did willingly exchange with Mr. Cocks 2120 Tayes Iapan monye for Royalls, . . . [17 November, 1613, 180]
- Japanner (1614 → 1613) . . . it is generally thought emongest vs that he is a naturalised Japanner. [29 July 1613, 109]
- shogun (1615 → 1613) Shongo sama, the Emperors sonne, . . . [2 August, 1613, 113] [*Sama* is a honorific affix.]
- tachi (1948 → 1613) And towards evening the King sent 2 varnished Armors, a present to his Majesty the King of England, Allso a

Tatch. . . . and a wagadash a present from him to my selfe. [2 August, 1613, 134]

William Adams no Koukaishi to Shokan. (The Log-Book and Letters of William Adams) Edited by Mutsuo Kikuno. Tokyo: Nan'undo, 1977.

- Japanese (*adj.*) (1719 → 1614) the 8 daye wind Southerll ffayr wether we rod still theis being the 18 daye of the Iappanes reckninge being thvrsdaye [p. 14]
- kotatsu (1876 → 1615) Ittem bought a *cotates* for fire [59]
- miso (1727 → 1615) Ittem pd for a barrell of *misso*5 *masse* [55]
- tabi (1616 → 1615) Ittem bought 8 payr of *tabbes* cost 012-00 *mas* [58]

Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan 1615-1622, with Correspondence. 2 volumes. Edited by Edward Maunde Thompson. New York: Burt Franklin Publisher, 1882.

- awabi (1889 → 1616) And Joco Conde Dono sent me a present of 3 hanches salt veneson, with certen shelfish called *woby*. [March 14, 1616, Vol. I, p. 120]
- Japanese (*sb.*) (1828 → 1622) And Capt. Camps came and bought the articles which we ment to present to the King of Firandos brother and to Torazemon Dono, wrot in Japons, the coppies whereof we keepe; . . . [February 17, 1622, II 243]
- Kabuki (1899 → 1616) Capt. Adames envited all the english to a banket with *cabokes*. [December 15, 1616, I 220]
- kimono (1886 → 1615) And I made Tushma, my boy, a new *kerimon* of damask of Canton, with a cloake or gaberdyn of stript taffete. [September 4, 1615, I 51]
- koku (1727 → 1615) I received 16 boates lading of wheate ashore this day, containing 1,198 sacks, is 300 *gocos*, wanting 2 sack laid out in henne meate. [June 12, 1615, I 8]
- matsu (1727 → 1616) 79 *cakis mates nuque* of 2 *tattamy long*. [April 20, 1616, I 129] [*cakis mates nuque*: square pine lumber]
- Nippon (1727 → [1615]) Capt. Speck and the rest sent to thank me for their good entertaynment, viz, *nifon catange*. [July 3, 1615, I 18] [*nifon catange*: according to the Japanese custom]
- obang (1662 → 1615) And Andrea Dittis, the China Capt., brought

back a bar of Oban Gould, . . . [September 7, 1615, I 53]

John Ogilby: *Atlas Japonnensis: Being Remarkable Address by way of Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Emperor of Japan.* Collected out of the several writings and journals by Arnoldvs Montonvs. London: Printed by the Johnson, 1670.

- Hizen (1727 → 1670) But whereas *Fesen* produces the best Porcelan [*sic*] in *Japan*; . . . [p. 434]
- Nippon (1727 → 1670) This Spacious and Wealthy Isle, by the Natives call'd Nippon, . . . [78] [See the above example.]

Engelbertus Kaempher: *The History of Japan.* Translated from his Original Manuscript by J.G. Scheuchzer. 2 volumes. London: Printed for the Translator, 1727.

- daimio (1839 → 1727) Particular Provinces are govern'd by hereditary Princes, call'd *Daimio*, which signifies *High-named*, that is, Princes and Lords of the highest rank. [Vol. I, p. 80]
- Eta (1897 → 1727) They call them by the scandalous name of *Katsuwu*, which signifies the very worst sort of Rabble, and put them upon the same foot with the *Jetta*, or *Leather-Tanners*, the most infamous sort of people in their opinion, . . . [I 261]
- hatamoto (1871 → 1727) For they took it frequently into their heads, to oppose the Governors, meerly [*sic*] to shew [*sic*] their authority, as *Fattamatto*, that is, independent Imperial Officers, which often occasion'd great confusion, . . . [I 269]
- hiragana (1822 → 1727) The *Firo Canna*, and *Catta Canna* characters, as they are call'd at the top of the several columes [*sic*] wherein they are plac'd, are common to the Japanese in general, and understood by the common people. [II, Table XLV]
- kago (1857 → 1727) Besides going on horseback, there is another more stately and expensive way of travelling in this country, and that is to be carried in *Norimons* and *Cagos*, or particular sorts of chairs, or litters. [II 401]
- koniak, koniaku (1884 → 1727) Thus out of the *Konjakf*, which is a poisonous sort of a *Dracunculus*, they prepare a sweet mealy pap. [I 122]
- kudzu (1893 → 1727) . . . ; cakes of the jelly of the *Kaads* root, which root is found upon mountains, and cut into round slices like

carrots, and roasted; . . . [II 427]

- kura (1880 → 1727) The scot of rice, or corn, amounts to somewhat more than half the crop, which the husband-man must bring to the *Okura*, or *Komegura*, (Imperial Magazines, which stand near *Mangome*, or the North-suburb) . . . [I 292] [*O* is a honorific prefix.]
- Obaku (1883 → 1727) The same year, on the third day of the fourth month, died in the famous Convent *Obaku*, the above mention'd Chinese Missionary *Ingen*, in the fourscore and second year of his age. [I 199–200]
- Rōjū (1874 → 1727) The ministers of state, and other great men at court, some of whom we were only to visit, and to make presents to others, were the five chief Imperial councillors [*sic*] of state, call'd *Goradzī*, or the five elderly men, . . . [II 527] [*Go* is a honorific prefix.]
- Ryukyuan (1958 → 1727) The Liquejans being subjects of *Japan*, you shall take none of their ships or boats. [II 384]
- sakura (1884 → 1727) Amidst the Plants stands sometimes a *Saguer*, as they call it, or scarce outlandish tree, sometimes a dwarf-tree or two. [II 426]
- sasanqua (1866 → 1727) Some put it up with common Mugwort flowers, or the young leaves of the Plant call'd *Sasanqua*, which they believe adds much to its agreeableness. [II, Appendix 15]
- sho (1876 → 1727) In the ninth year he [*sc.* Monmu] caus'd a square measure, (by the Japanese call'd *Seo* and *Maas*, by the Dutch *Ganten*, . . . [I 173]
- skimmia (1853 → 1727) Often also they [*sc.* the Japanese] put a branch of the *Fanna Skimmi* Tree over their doors, which is in like manner believ'd to bring good luck into their houses; . . . [II 418]
- Soto (1893 → 1727) *Kataisi*, is the chief convent and temple of the *Sensju*, or Sect of *Sen*, which is of the order (or rather Schism) of *Sotofa*, or *Sotosju*. [I 304] [*Fa* or *sju* signifies a sect.]
- Tanabata (1880 → 1727) They [*sc.* The Japanese] give it also the name of *Sisseki Tanabatta*, which implies as much, and *Tanomunoseku*, which is as much as to say, an *Auxiliar* [*sic*] *Festival*. [I 221]
- ujigami (1897 → 1727) Amongst the *Sin* or *Cami*, that is, the national Gods, I must mention in the first place, the *Udsigami* of this Town. *Udsigami*, is the chief God, Saint and Protector of a Province, City, or Village. [I 294]
- uta (1855 → 1727) . . . as he [*sc.* Senmei] was at the same time a

perfect master of the Cabalistic Sciences, he found out certain words, which he brought together into an *Uta*, or *Verse*, . . . [II 449]

“Comparison between the Japanese and Loo-Choo Languages,” by H. J. Clifford appended to *Account of A Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea, and the Great Loo-Choo Island*. Captain Basil Hall Chamberlain. London: John Murray, 1818.

- mousmee (1880 → 1818) *English Japanese Loo-Choo*
Daughter–Musme, gogo–Innago oongua.
- sumi (1911 → 1818) *English Japanese Loo-Choo*
Ink – Sum, sumi – Simmee.

M. Malte-Brun: *Universal Geography, or a Description of All the Parts of the World*. Volume II. Edinburgh: Printed for Adam Black; and London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822.

- Aino (1843 → 1822) The Jesuit Father Des Anges even saw this strait, described its terrible currents, and learned that the land beyond it, the island of Seghalien, was named Aino-Moxori. This name signifies the isle of the Ainos; . . . [Book XLI, p. 508]

I. Titsingh: *Illustrations of Japan*. Translated from the French edition into English by F. Shoberl. London, 1822.

- obi (1878 → 1822) The *sita-obi*, a kind of under sash, the *woewa-obi*, or upper sash. [p. 260]

Dr. P. Franz von Siebold: *Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841. Reprinted and published by the Charles E. Tuttle Company, Tokyo, in 1973.

- inkyō (1871 → 1841) . . . ; that among no class of Japanese is the practice of *inkioe*, or abdicating in favour of a son, so prevalent as with these grandees. [p. 147]
- manyōgana (1868 → 1841) . . . ; the *manyōkana* and the *yamatogana*, the difference between which, either in their nature or use, is not explained, but they are said to exhibit the original type of the Japanese letters. [211]
- shakudo (1860 → 1841) In metallurgy they [*sc.* the Japanese] are, however, very skilful; and the beautiful article called *syakfdo*, in which

various metals are partly blended, partly combined, producing an effect resembling fine enamel, . . . [227]

Richard Hildreth: *Japan, As It Was and Is*. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Company, 1855. Reprint edition published in 1973. Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc.

- renga (1877 → 1855) The poems called *renga*, composed in Chinese only, may extend to a hundred or a thousand verses, each verse dependent (as the name *renga* implies) upon that which immediately precedes it, or at least upon some word in it. [p. 550]

Francis L. Hawks: *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, Performed in the Years 1852, 1853, and 1854, Under the Command of M.C. Perry*. New York: D. Appleton, 1857.

- kuroshiwo (1885 → 1857) Along this part of the coast, the influence of the stream, called by the Japanese, *Kuro-siwo*, was quite perceptible. [p. 495]
- shogi (1858 → 1857) On entering, they found some of the inmates playing at a game very similar, as it appeared, to chess. (. . .) The game is called *Sho-Ho-Yé*, and is a great favorite among the Japanese. [532]

Sir Rutherford Alcock: *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan*. 2 volumes. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969. Originally published in 1863. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green.

- keyaki (1904 → 1863) ki-a-ki, s . . . *Planera acuminata*. The Japanese elm. This is probably the finest timber in Japan. [Vol. II, p. 480]
- sayonara (1875 → 1863) And so ends our journey to Yeddo, and the panorama of the high road. — *Saionara!* the salutation of the Japanese, loses nothing in softness by contrast either with the French adieu, or the Italian addio; . . . [I 469]
- tan (1871 → 1863) In referring to the size of a farm, an *it-than* containing 300 tsoobo is the measurement generally mentioned; . . . [I 318] [*it-than*: one *tan*]
- to (1871 → 1863)
 - 10 Ischo (1 Itho) = 30 1/3 lb.
 - 10 Itho (1 Its'ko-koo) = 333 1/3 lb [I 318] [*Itho*: one *to*]

- uguisu (1871 → 1863) As we toiled slowly up, leading our horses, we heard some very sweet notes of the *unguissu*, not unlike the notes of a nightingale, and I think nearly the only bird in Japan that sings. [II 127]

Robert Fortune: *Yedo and Peking, A Narrative of a Journey to the Capitals of Japan and China*. London: John Murray, 1863.

- ronin (1871 → 1863) On our arrival at Kanagawa we were startled by the intelligence that H. B. M. Legation at Yedo had been attacked the night before by a band of loönins, . . . [p. 241]
- tycoonship (1964 → 1863) Thus shorn of its jewels, the crown of the Tycoonship becomes that of head of the lower Daimios only. [261–2]

W.G. Aston: *A Short Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language*. Third edition. London: Trübner and Co., 1873.

- ama (1954 → 1873) Thus *amma*, shampooer, must be pronounced differently from *ama*, a fisherwoman; . . . [p. 2]

William Elliot Griffis: *The Mikado's Empire*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1876.

- hinin (1884 → 1876) The *hinin* (not human) were the lowest class of beggars, the squatters on waste lands, who built huts along the road, and existed by soliciting alms. [p. 280]
- netsuke (1883 → 1876) Nearly all the ivory thus imported is put to a single use. It is carved into *nitsükis*, or large buttons perforated with two holes, . . . [364]
- hanami (1891 → 1876) The scrap of text, “hanami” (“to see the flowers”), is their term for junketing in the woods; . . . [487]
- haori (1877 → 1876) We shall see in most of them, however, the clear reflection of that human heart which beats responsive beneath the toga, the camel's-hair raiment, the broadcloth, the silk *haori*. [504]
- ken (1882 → 1876) Great changes have taken place in the city since the departure of the prince, and the change of the *han* (feudal tenure) into *ken* (prefecture of the Imperial Government). [536]
- Mikadoate (1899 → 1876) XCIII. THE TEMPORARY MIKADOATE. [182]
- mon (1878 → 1876) Shallow observers — foreigners, of course — on first seeing these stretched canvas screens, supposed they were

“forts,” and the crests (*mon*) of the general, “port-holes” for cannon! [398]

- *sensei* (1884 → 1876) It is an honor to be addressed or spoken of as old. Every one called me “*sensei*” (elder-born, or teacher). [449]
- *Shin* (1877 → 1876) Among these were, in 1202, the Zen (Contemplation); in 1211, the Jōdō (Heavenly Road); in 1262, the Shin (New); in 1282, the Nichiren. [162]
- *shugo* (1893 → 1876) Also — and here was another step to military government and feudalism — that a *shiugo* — a military chief, should be placed in each province, . . . [141]

Isabella L. Bird: *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. 2 volumes. London: John Murray, 1880.

- *geisha* (1891 → 1880) . . . ; *geishas* (professional women with the accomplishments of dancing, singing, and playing) danced, accompanied by songs whose jerking discords were most laughable; . . . [Vol. I, p. 97]
- *go* (1890 → 1880) This great resource is called *gō*, and is played with 180 white discs cut from a species of cockle shell, and 181 black ones, made from a black pebble. The board is divided into 361 squares, and the game consists in enclosing a certain space, and preventing the opponent from doing the same. The table on which the board is set, called the *gō-ban*, has a square hollow beneath it, . . . [II 32]
- *gobang* (1886 → 1880) [See *go*. This is the original sense of *gobang*.]
- *kagura* (1884 → [1880]) The *kangura fuyé*, or Japanese flute, claims an antiquity of twelve centuries, . . . [II 209]
- *kakemono* (1890 → 1880) . . . ; the *kakemons*, or wall-pictures on their side-walls, were extremely beautiful; . . . [I 98]
- *shō* (1888 → 1880) A young girl, daughter of a noble who has filled several high official positions, played on a most exquisitely made antique instrument, called the *sho*, formed of several reeds beautifully lacquered in gold, branded with silver, and set in a circular box of fine gold lacquer. [II 204–5]
- *shochu* (1938 → 1880) The only drinks in common use are tea, hot water, *saké*, and *strochiu*, less palatable even than *saké*, a form of alcohol, which is taken cold at odd hours during the hot season. [I 240]
- *soroban* (1891 → 1880) Between your offers the saleswoman makes great use of the *soroban*, a frame enclosing some rows of balls moving

on thick wires, which is used in all business transactions in Japan, . . . [I 142–3]

Sir Edward J. Reed: *Japan: Its History, Traditions, and Religions*. 2 volumes. London: John Murray, 1880.

- *mitsumata* (1889 → 1880) Paper is also made from the *mitsumata* plant (*Edgeworthia papyrifera*), the first order of the eighth class, a deciduous shrub growing to seven or eight feet in height. [Vol. II, p. 43]
- *Nashiji* (1881 → 1880) In 410 an officer (Minamoto-no-Juin) published another work, in which he speaks of lacquers of gold, and likewise of other lacquers known as *nashiji*, which are of orange colour sown with sparks of gold, and the makers of which he speaks of as “very celebrated.” [II 32–3]
- *Seto* (1881 → 1880) A select display of the beautiful porcelain ware of Seto (Owari) had been brought together to interest us. [II 272]
- *Shijō* (1884 → 1880) *Shiyo Riu*. This school was founded, as previously stated, by Okio, and was characterised by a more direct and loyal resort to nature than his predecessors had allowed themselves; . . . [II 92]
- *sumi-e* (1938 → 1880) The practice of painting in Chinese (or “Indian”) ink is exceedingly common in Japan, and this form of art is designated *Sumie*. [II 92]
- *tanto* (1885 → 1880) Stilettoes a foot long or less, known as *tanto* and *mamori katana*, were sometimes worn by nobles, officers, and gentlemen in place of the more cumbrous *wakizashi*. [II 270]

William D. Whitney et al.: *The Century Dictionary, An Encyclopedic Lexicon of the English Language*. 6 volumes. New York: The Century Company, 1889–1891.

- *shogunal* (1899 → 1891) **shogunal** Pertaining to a shogun or the shoguns, or to the period when they flourished. [p. 5583]

Sir E. Arnold: *Seas and Lands*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892.

- *maiko* (1904 → 1892) But you would be wrong to think that any Japanese woman may put on the splendid and showy *kimonos* borne by the *Maiko*. [p. 300]

"Introduction by E. Gilbertson," in *Catalogue of Specimens of Japanese Lacquer and Metal Work Exhibited in 1894*. London: Printed for the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1894.

- suzuribako (1967 → 1894) In the temple of Hachiman, Kamakura, also, there are several pieces of lacquer dating from the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 14th centuries, remarkable for their good taste and quality, among them, a *suzuri-bako*, or writing box, of *nashiji*, with chrysanthemums by a fence in gold; . . . [p. xli]

W.G. Aston: *Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*. Translated from the Original Chinese and Japanese by W. G. Aston. First Published as a Supplement to The Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1896. Reprinted and published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. in 1956.

- haniwa (1931 → 1896) So the things of clay were first set up at the tomb of Hibusu-hime no Mikoto. And a name was given to these clay objects. They were called *Hani-wa*. [Part I, pp. 180-181]
- muraji (1901 → 1896) Adzumi no Muraji is a title corresponding exactly to such English titles as "Duke of Wellington," Adzumi being the name of a place and Muraji a title of honour. It is derived from *mura*, a village or assemblage, and *ushi*, master. [I 27, Note 7]
- omi (1901 → 1896) Omi is a title of rank, probably derived from *o*, for *oho*, great and *mi*, person. The Chinese character with which it is written means minister or vassal. [I 36, Note 3]

W.G. Aston: *A History of Japanese Literature*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901.

- terakoya (1909 → 1901) Nearly every temple had a *terakoya* attached to it, where the children of peasants, mechanics, and tradespeople were instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. [p. 235]

G. Waldo Browne: *Japan, The Place and the People*. Boston: Dana Estes & Company, 1901.

- yokozuna (1966 → 1901) The honour next fell on Yoshida Oikase, . . . , and who is alone empowered to bestow upon the champion wrestler that badge of distinction which every ambitious follower of the order seeks as the ultimate reward of all his training and skill in over-

coming his rivals, the *yokozuna*, a belt braided of two strands of white silk. [p. 234] [This is the original sense of *yokozuna*.]

Arthur Diósy: *The New Far East*. Fourth Edition. London: Cassell and Company, 1904. Originally published in 1898.

- Kempeitai (1947 → [1904]) These *Kem-pei*, as they are called, are a splendid body of men, armed with rifle, sword, and revolver, and perfectly drilled, doing constabulary duty on the high roads and byways, on lonely moors and rugged mountain-paths, . . . [p. 120]
- sumotori (1973 → 1904) With professional wrestlers it is still *de ringueur*; a large *magé*, about the size and shape of a door-knocker, is as distinctive of the fat *sumōtori*, the huge wrestler who towers over his compatriots like an obese giant, . . . [69]

Douglas Sladen: *Queer Things about Japan*. Third Edition, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1904.

- Japaneseness (1965 → 1904) She [*sc.* the beautiful Countess Kuroda] received gentlemen as well as foreign ladies, but she retained her Japaneseness none the less. [p. 232]
- kata (1954 → 1904) I could not make out what was Kata and what was Jujitsu . . . [186]
- Tokyoite (1973 → 1904) The poor Tokyoite packs everything in his house in boxes slung on a bamboo, . . . [108]

Arthur Lloyd: *Every-day Japan, Written after Twenty-five Years' Residence and Work in the Country*. London: Cassell and Company, 1909.

- onsen (1933 → 1909) But the *onsen*, or hot-water springs, are distributed more widely than the active volcanoes. [p. 8]

Cap. F. Brinkley: *A History of the Japanese People, from the earliest times to the end of the Meiji era*. New York/London: The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1912.

- dojo (1942 → 1912) They opened temple-seminaries (*tera-koya*) and exercise halls (*dōjō*) . . . [p. 448]

Inazo Nitobé: *Japanese Traits and Foreign Influences*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1927.

- shibui (1947 → 1927) We also speak of great refinement of the art

that conceals art, as an astringent (*shibui*) taste, reminding one of the tannin in tea. [p. 109]

The above antedatings will surely be incorporated into the third edition of the *OED* which is to be published in 2005. And the following is an alphabetically arranged table of the antedatings of the Japanese loanwords.

JAPANESE LOANWORD	<i>OED</i> ²	ANTE-DATE	JAPANESE LOANWORD	<i>OED</i> ²	ANTE-DATE
Aino	1843	1822	Nippon	1727	1670
ama	1954	1873	Obaku	1883	1727
awabi	1889	1616	obang	1662	1615
daimio	1839	1727	obi	1878	1822
dairi	1662	1613	omi	1901	1896
dojo	1942	1912	onsen	1933	1904
Eta	1897	1727	renga	1877	1855
geisha	1891	1880	Rōjū	1874	1727
go	1890	1880	ronin	1871	1863
go-bang	1886	1880	Ryukyu	1808	1588
hanami	1891	1876	Ryukyuan	1958	1727
haniwa	1931	1896	sakura	1884	1727
haori	1877	1876	sasanqua	1866	1727
hatamoto	1871	1727	sayonara	1875	1863
hinin	1884	1876	sensei	1884	1876
hiragana	1822	1727	Seto	1881	1880
Hizen	1727	1670	shakudo	1860	1841
inkyō	1871	1841	shibui	1947	1927
Japan (<i>attrib.</i>)	1673	1613	Shijō	1884	1880
Japanese (<i>adj.</i>)	1719	1614	Shin	1877	1876
Japanese (<i>sb.</i>) ¹	1604	1588	sho	1876	1727
Japanese (<i>sb.</i>) ²	1828	1622	shō	1888	1880
Japaneseness	1965	1904	shochu	1938	1880
Japanner	1614	1613	shogi	1858	1857
Kabuki	1899	1616	shogun	1615	1613
kago	1857	1727	shogunal	1899	1891
kagura	1884	[1880]	shugo	1893	1876
kakemono	1890	1880	skimmia	1853	1727
kata	1954	1904	soroban	1891	1880
Kempeitai	1947	[1904]	Soto	1893	1727

JAPANESE LOANWORD	<i>OED</i> ²	ANTE-DATE	JAPANESE LOANWORD	<i>OED</i> ²	ANTE-DATE
ken	1882	1876	sumi	1911	1818
keyaki	1904	1863	sumi-e	1938	1880
kimono	1886	1615	sumotori	1973	1904
koku	1727	1615	suzuribako	1967	1894
koniak, koniaku	1884	1727	tabi	1616	1615
kotatsu	1876	1615	tachi	1948	1613
kudzu	1893	1727	tan	1871	1863
kura	1880	1727	Tanabata	1880	1727
kuroshiwo	1885	1857	tanto	1885	1880
maiko	1904	1892	terakoya	1909	1901
manyogana	1868	1841	to	1871	1863
matsu	1727	1616	Tokyoite	1973	1904
Mikadoate	1899	1876	tycoonship	1964	1863
miso	1727	1615	uguisu	1871	1863
mitsumata	1889	1880	ujigami	1897	1727
mon	1878	1876	uta	1855	1727
muraji	1901	1896	yokozuna	1966	1901
mousmee	1880	1818			
Nashiji	1881	1880			
netsuke	1883	1876			

Note: Japanese¹ (a native of Japan)

Japanese² (the Japanese language)

(1996年12月20日受理)

The Treatment of Vulgar Words in Major English Dictionaries (1)¹⁾

HIROAKI UCHIDA

1. Some Historical Background

The so-called vulgar words had been neglected until recently on the other end of the language studies, lexicography, just as they had been in the rest of the field. Although some has claimed that their "exclusion from dictionaries is a relatively recent phenomenon", and that "most dictionaries gave them with no particular qualms" (Béjoint 1994: 125) until the eighteenth century, it is still undeniable that taboo words on the whole, especially the most 'obscene' and 'vulgar' ones, had not been treated as proper lexica, or words to be defined in dictionaries, for a long time until very recently.

Of course we can find some well-cited examples of pre-reformative dictionaries with many of these words listed such as Nathan Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1735) and John Ash's *The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language* published in 1775 (Read 1934a; Perrin 1992; Béjoint 1992). Perrin states that we can "learn in perfectly dry form" in Ash's dictionary like to *fuck* defined as 'to perform the act of generation', *prick* as 'the penis in low or vulgar language' and *shite* as an intransitive verb meaning 'to void the excrements' (Perrin 1992: 165). But these are rare examples, for the presence of dictionaries themselves were rare then, and were limited for the eyes of special groups of people.

Then came out the one with a historical significance. In his famous *A*

1) This paper is the first part of Chapter 3 from my MA thesis submitted to Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in January 16, 1996, revised and edited. I very grateful to Prof. Nobuyuki Higashi for his kind and patient advice.

Dictionary of the English Language (1755), Dr. Samuel Johnson carefully excluded most of the vulgar words not for the reason of being obscene but colloquial. At the same time he did not omit the words he judged were literary even though some were genuine four-letter words (Perrin 1992: 166). He defined *fart*, a highly literary word that appears throughout the Anglo-Saxon literature from Chaucer to Shakespeare, with its usage taken from the six-line poem by Swift: '... So from my lord his passion broke, He *farted* first, and then he spoke.' He also has *piss* in entry, and after defining the verb *to piss* as 'to make water', he illustrates its usage from Shakespeare: 'I charge the *issing* conduit run nothing but claret.' Indeed, *fart* and *piss* are on the weaker end of the four-letter word scale, and Johnson refrained from going further to the other end. However, the fact that he was conscious of his reader's interest in such words is displayed in a remarkable anecdote cited in the *Oxford Book of Literary Anecdotes*:

He called on them [Mrs Digby and her sister, Mrs Brooke] one day, soon after the publication of his immortal dictionary. The ladies paid him due compliments on the occasion. Among other topics of praise, they very much commended the omission of all naughty words. 'What! my dears! then you have been looking for them?' said the moralist. The ladies, confused at being caught, dropped the subject of the dictionary. (Beste, Memorials, p. 11-12)

Thus there has always existed a current of times regarding the kind of words treated or *untreated* in the dictionaries, and words in the dictionaries surely have reflected the social view of the time. So it is possible that the eighteenth century had been much easier times for taboo words to define themselves in a dictionary than the nineteenth or the first half of the twentieth century. However, as we have seen, what is regarded as taboo can also change in the course of time. Although defining most of the four-letter words in his above-mentioned dictionary including *fuck*, Bailey nevertheless expurgated *onanism*, an old term originally taken from the name of Judah's son, *Onan*, in the Bible (Genesis 38:9), and even *masturbation*, a purely scientific word, because the act itself the words refer to seems to have been "the most indecent act known to the eighteenth century" (Perrin 1992: 164). He surely did not make this selection because *onanism* was

more technical and less popular word than *fuck*, which is obvious if we compare the absence of *onanism* to the presence of *copulation*, a more technical and a less popular synonym for *fuck*. On the contrary, *onanism* seems to have been the most common colloquial term for masturbation in the eighteenth century. It was because masturbation was considered a far more offensive deed and a greater sin than copulation in this period, as is shown in the naming of such euphemisms as *self-pollution* and *self-abuse*.¹⁾ On the other hand, many of today's leading abridged or students' dictionaries, like *POD*, *OALD* and *LDCE*, have *masturbation* and *fuck* but not *onanism*, the selection obviously based on the popularity of the words. Meanwhile, almost all of the dictionaries, even the unabridged ones, during the long period from the early 19th century to the late 1960s had made their selection of the words exactly the other way round; that is, including the 'physiological' *onanism* and *masturbation*, and excluding the 'obscene' *fuck*.

Now in America, ever since the birth of this nation, there had been a strong Puritan ethics that repressed all these words from appearing in the eyes of children, and most dictionaries of this time were made for school use. So all the taboo words had not even existed in the pages of American dictionaries until some time after the World War II. Even the American reprints of English dictionaries were expurgated, Johnson's not an exception. This tendency was reinforced and even reimported to Britain by one man so significant in the history of lexicography, Noah Webster. Famous for his proposal and attempt to reform the spelling of English words, he is also notorious for his morbid persistence in purifying the English language. His boast went as "There is not a vocabulary of the English language so free from *local*, *vulgar* and *obscene* words as mine." (Perrin 1992: 167)²⁾ Webster planned an expurgated edition of English poems with notes, and even the Bible fell before his hand, actually publishing an edi-

1) It is an ironical fact that D.H. Lawrence, who brought back many of the four-letter words into print, called *masturbation* "an act of self-abuse" and strongly advocated the harm and futility of the deed (Lawrence 1930). Bryson (1995: 366) cites many other euphemisms for *masturbation* as well as interesting episodes concerning how the American society reacted to this 'vicious' deed.

2) Probably cited from Harry R. Warfel, ed., *Letters of Noah Webster* (New York, 1953), p. 73.

tion with "many words and phrases which cannot now be uttered, especially in promiscuous company, without violence to decency" like *suck*, *dung* and *piss* cut out (Read 1934b: 386).¹⁾ He even felt that Johnson's was full of vulgarisms, attacking him for having "transgressed the rules of lexicography beyond any other compiler, for his work contains more of the lowest of all vulgar words, than any other now extant, Ash excepted" (Read 1934a: 273). He published the *Compendious*, his first and the fifth dictionary compiled in America, in 1806, revised as *An American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1841, shortly before his death. In its preface he wrote:

It is to be remarked that, in general, vulgar words are the oldest and best authorized words in language; and their use is as necessary to the classes of people who use them, as elegant words are to the statesman and the poet. It may be added, that such words are often particularly useful to the lexicographer, in furnishing him with the primary sense, which is no where to be found but in popular use. In this work I have not gone quite so far as Johnson has done, in admitting vulgar words. Some of them are too low to deserve notice. (lxix)

But here is another word by the same man which is quite contradictory to all he said above: "The business of the lexicographer is to collect, arrange and define, as far as possible, *all* the words that belong to a language, and leave the author to select from them, at his pleasure, and according to his own taste and judgment." (Read 1934a: 274)

The influence of Webster was very strong, and his dictionary was reprinted overseas in Europe. Especially in England, harmonizing with the Victorianism and its way of gentility, Webster's dictionary got a favorable response among the Victorian people. The fact that few, if any, dictionaries of importance in the lexicographical history had been compiled during this period in England, until the compilation of *OED* began in the late nineteenth century, tells of its big influence. Therefore we may conclude that the nineteenth century was the hardest and the most neglected time for vulgar words. Flexner calls this the 'blackout' period, more exactly

1) Cited from Webster, ed., the "Introduction" of *The Holy Bible* (New Haven, Conn., 1833), p. xvi.

referring to the time between the late 18th century to the 1940s (Flexner 1976: 157), during which almost no vulgar words could be seen, at least with complete spellings, in literature, dictionaries, publications and even in the conversations of the 'sensible' people, totally crossed out of the society. And they did not see the light of day until about thirty years ago from now.

2. Vulgar Words in Modern Dictionaries

These thirty years have brought about the most drastic change in lexicography concerning the entry of vulgar words in dictionaries. From the early 1960s, many of the leading dictionary publishers began to break down the long-lasting tradition of excluding the words in question and go back to the basic principle of lexicography; that is, to quote Webster's words again, 'to collect, arrange and define, as far as possible, *all* the words that belong to a language', including vulgar words as well. Behind this is the social background in which people have gradually begun to accept the existence of the words and their penetration into the social and cultural life. It is obvious that the entry of taboo words into dictionaries was a mere reflection of the society acknowledging them, which had already begun some time after the World War II.

Let us now examine the treatment of vulgar words in the leading modern dictionaries in the U.S.A. and in England. By looking at the transition of how one dictionary has treated these words differently in several editions, we should be able to draw out a general pattern in proportion to their social acceptance. By comparing more than one dictionary, we can see how they are treated differently in each.

The consequence is arranged into Table 1 below. The criteria for selecting these dictionaries were popularity, historical significance and continuity to the present. Thus we have seven U.S. dictionaries; *ACD*, *AHD*, *RHD*, *RHC*, *W(NI)*, *WNCD*, and *WNW*, and four U.K. dictionaries; *OALD*, *COD*, *LDCE* and *PED*. The treatment of the words in each dictionary will be examined closely in the forthcoming part (2) of this study.

The criteria for selecting the words in Table 1 are regarding sex and/or excretion, but the rest is purely subjective. They are what I have considered essential for the study. Some of the words should have been included

but were omitted from the table, like *hell*, *sod*, *snot*, *scumbag*, etc. The terms for racial and religious slurs were excluded as well; they shall be discussed in another opportunity.

The signs ● and ○ represent respectively that either the word's literal or figurative meaning is given, whereas ⊙ both literal and figurative given. In this issue of the study, we are going to look at this table vertically and see how each word is used as its literal and/or figurative meanings. I have already summarized the diversified usage of *fuck* in my previous study (Uchida 1994: 55), and with slight modification I will apply this list of usage to other vulgar terms to see how flexibly they are used, which is arranged into Table 2 below.

Fuck is the most diverse and flexible word listed in Table 1, or maybe of all the English words. If we were to list all the *fuck* usage, it would be an enormous one. Shiedlower (1995) actually tried this, examining every sense of every word containing *fuck*, which eventually got him to comprise an epoch-making 200-page thesaurus. Most of the present-day dictionaries cover only its literal meaning as a noun and a verb, figurative as an expletive, *fucker* as a person,¹⁾ *fucking* as an intensive and a few well-used phrasal verbs like *fuck up* and *fuck off*. In other words, *fuck* is too diverse for a general dictionary to cover its every usage. All of the usage in Table 2 is possible for *fuck*, with many other interesting ones not treated here, one of which the 'infixing' of *fucking*. Sagarin was probably the first to refer to this, like 'imfuckinpossible' and 'irrefuckinsponsible', as he himself admits "this may be the first time that they have been reduced to writing" (Sagarin 1962: 148). Of course he did not forget to mention the previously-cited examples of the two other words used similarly, *bloody* and *goddamn*; e.g. 'absobloodylutely' and 'indegoddampendent'. The condition for this infixing usage may be that the term can be used attributively, like ' *fucking* car' or ' *bloody* bastard'. Other than these three, there seem to be no examples of the terms used in this way so far, but in the near future there

1) The term *fucker*, although defined in many dictionaries, seems much less in use now, owing to the presence of *fuck* and *motherfucker* as personal epithets. This has already been pointed out by Sagarin (1968: 139) almost thirty years ago, but overlooked by most lexicographers.

may be words made up such as 'complishittycated' or 'communi-jerkoffcation'. In any case, this infixing usage is one good evidence to see how difficult it is to account for vulgar words, especially *fuck* in this case, in traditional grammar. And thus it is more than natural that *fuck* should be one of the most burdensome words in lexicography.

Cunt is another infamous word long neglected in lexicography. Its usage is not very wide, and besides its literal meaning as the female sexual organ, there is mostly the figurative usage as an insulting epithet.¹⁾ Table 1 shows that this figurative meaning of *cunt* has been defined with the literal ever since its appearance in dictionaries. Indeed, *cunt* is a well-used epithet, and a strong one. Allan points out the semantic difference between the figurative usage of *cunt* and *dick/prick*, arguing that *cunt* is 'nasty, malicious, despicable' while *dick* and *prick* are 'stupid, contemptible', and attributes it to the general belief that "vagina . . . is more of a nuisance as a body part than is the penis because it is the source of a greater portion of polluting discharge." (Allan 1990: 171) Perhaps this theory partly explains why many dictionaries exclusively label *cunt* as 'offensive', as we will see later. But Allan also regards *cunt* and *shit* as having similar strength of invoking strong pollution taboo, to which I cannot agree. *Shit* indeed applies more to a 'nasty, malicious, despicable' person than to a 'stupid' one, but its degree of offensiveness must be much weaker than that of *cunt*. Comparing the literal meaning of each word, it is easy to see that the fruit of excretion is less taboo than the sexual organ, and I have already claimed that the degree of taboo of the referent reflects that of the word that refers to it (Uchida 1994). Thus calling a person *cunt* should invoke much stronger contempt and derogation than *shit*. In any case, *cunt* as a figurative is one of the strongest derogatory epithets in the English language, almost equal to *fuck*, *motherfucker* and *cocksucker*.

Cock is the only term in the Big Six²⁾ that used to be a euphemism itself.

1) Spears (1982) lists the verbal usage 'to insert one's penis' of *cunt*, cited from the limericks, while Partridge (1972) defines the adjectival *cunting* as 'expressive of disgust, reprobation, violence', but these minor examples of *cunt* usage are seldom seen today.

2) The generally-known notion of the Big Six is mentioned in Hughes (1991: 20) but as for which terms are the Big Six, not all English speakers may reach a consensus. There may even be disagreement on whether this notion really exists at all, and it must be reexamined by further research.

It comes from the *cock* as a faucet, and in this sense the *cock* as a male sexual organ can be regarded as the figurative meaning of the original, but here we regard the literal meaning of *cock* as the penis, which is rarely used figuratively. And many dictionaries in Table 1 define its literal only.¹⁾ *Cock* is sometimes used, chiefly in Britain, as 'nonsense', same as (*bull*)*shit* and *crap*, and therefore possible to form the phrase *full of cock* or *a load of cock*. It is also occasionally used as a verb 'to copulate', but this is only defined in some of the slang dictionaries (see Partridge 1961; Spears 1982).

Shit can be used figuratively as a noun, epithet, verb, interjection and intensifier. As an epithet we have seen its usage and compared its meaning with *cunt* above. As a verb it has the meaning 'to lie; exaggerate; deceive', which comes from the noun 'nonsense', not very often defined in dictionaries. In this sense *fuck* is more widely used now. As an interjection it is so much used like water in everyday speech, perhaps much more often than *fuck* because *fuck* is still more restricted in certain situations, and the day might come when *shit* does not carry any more vulgar impact, the same way *damn* and *hell* once followed. *Shit* is sometimes used as an intensifier, and lastly it has an adjectival derivative *shitty*, used fairly often.

Piss is the second most diversely-used term of the Big Six. Although it cannot be used as an intensifier, it exceeds the usage scope of *shit*. It has a number of phrasal verbs such as *piss around*, *piss away* and *piss off*, the last one most often defined in general dictionaries. It has a cursing expletive '*Piss you!*' as well as a derivative *pisser*, meaning 'a very difficult job' or 'a person or object with exceptional qualities', either negative or positive. This is something to note of because most vulgar words refer to the negative qualities of things. *Piss* also makes many combining words such as *piss-elegant*, *piss-poor* and *piss call*, which proves its usage as an adverb and adjective.

Fart as figurative is mainly used as an epithet to a man, especially an old and/or a stupid one. It is sometimes used as a phrasal verb *fart around* and

1) The chiefly British usage of *cock* as a term of endearment seems to have been in use since before the 17th century, and therefore should not be regarded at the figurative usage of *cock* as a penis, which has been in use for about the same amount of time.

in a phrase 'don't give a *fuck*', in this way similar to *fuck*, *shit* and *damn* but not as strong as the first two.

Motherfucker and *cocksucker* are the two strongest and most notorious compound words including the Big Six. Above all, *motherfucker* may be the severest taboo word in the English language due to the infusion of two taboos; copulation and incest. It is hardly used literally, and its chief usage is as an epithet and intensifying adjective/adverb *motherfucking*. It also has an interjection usage. Shiedlower (1995) even cites a rare usage of the derivative *motherfuck* as a transitive verb and intensifier. *Cocksucker* is also seldom used literally, but many dictionaries define its literal meaning as 'one who performs the act of fellatio'. It is not very often used to refer to a woman in a literal sense, and never in a figurative, for the presence of another term *cock-teaser*. Thus we see a homosexual nuance in *cocksucker*; used figuratively to a man, it carries maximum contempt. Many dictionaries still omit the two terms despite their popular use, perhaps owing to their offensiveness and degree of taboo.

Bullshit is not used literally, and its main usage is as noun, verb and interjection. As noun/verb meaning '(to talk) nonsense; lie' it is used in general. As interjection, it is used to attack someone specifically who is talking nonsense or lying, not to curse generally at uncomfortable circumstances like '*Fuck!*' or '*Shit!*', in this sense rather close to cursing expletives '*Fuck you!*' or '*Fuck it!*'. It also has a less-used personal *bullshitter*, meaning no more than 'one who lies or exaggerates', perhaps a little too weak as a personal epithet.

Asshole is now used not so much in its literal sense as a figurative epithet. It can refer negatively to a contemptible person, but also positively or friendly to a person of a close relationship. Being the same 'polluted' hole of the body part as in Allan's sense above, this is considerably different from *cunt*, which can only be used negatively. Its adjectival/adverbial usage can be seen in phrases like *asshole friend* and *asshole deep*. The former shows again how *asshole* is being used positively without any vulgar sense, for here it means 'a good friend' humorously. *Asshole* had long been neglected in dictionaries, but now all the newest editions in Table 1 have it listed. There is also a term similar but somewhat weaker in meaning,

butthole.

Jerk off is a phrasal verb meaning 'to masturbate'. This term has long been considered vulgar in its literal sense, but in a figurative sense it means 'to idle about', and hence comes the personal meaning 'a useless person'. Only one dictionary, *RHD*², has defined it so far.

Son of a bitch is another term that is so popular now that not many people consider it vulgar anymore. Its original meaning is similar to *bastard*, and formerly it was a strong taboo word, making euphemisms such as *S.O.B.* and *son of a gun*. But now it can refer to a thing or a person with remarkable quality, and calling someone *son of a bitch* does not necessarily invoke negative impact anymore.

Screw is a very popular slang which began as a euphemism for *fuck*. Its usage is very similar to its original, but much limited. *Screw* can not be used as a personal by itself, though it can refer to a person, more often a woman, as a sex object. It is not used as an intensifier or interjection. It has an adjectival *screwy*, but not adverbial. Its figurative meaning 'to take advantage of; swindle' is rapidly losing the vulgar impact, which can also be said to a number of its phrasal verbs as *screw around* and *screw up*. In addition, dictionaries such as *RHD* and *WNW*² treated this term comparatively early, which is something to note of for later inquiries.

The two popular terms for female sexual organs, *pussy* and *twat*, are very much limited in their usage just as *cunt* is. Their figurative usage is mostly limited to personal epithets. *Pussy* as figurative has a very popular usage, especially in America, as 'a weak or effeminate male', which has strangely been overlooked by most of the dictionaries so far. Even Allan seems to miss the fact that *pussy* can be used as an epithet, making a false remark that "The terms *poontang*, *pussy* . . . are also inappropriate as epithets or terms of abuse; they rather seem to be terms of endearment." (Allan 1990: 164) *Twat* is mainly a British term not very popular in the U.S., and many dictionaries label it *old-fashioned*. Allan (1990) does not give enough account on why *twat* is less offensive than *cunt*, but probably the reason lies in the currency and popularity of the latter as compared to the former.

Dick and *prick*, the two most popular slangs for male sexual organs, refer

restrictively to males in its figurative epithet usage as well. This semantic asymmetry is an interesting point compared to the fact that the terms above for female sexual organs, *cunt*, *pussy* and *twat*, can refer to both males and females figuratively. *Dick* comes from the rhyming slang of *prick*, which itself used to be another euphemism for *penis* besides *cock*. *Dick* is much widely used; as a compound *dickhead*, a verb 'to have sex with' and a phrasal verb *dick around* similar to *screw around*. But as is clear from Table 1, not many dictionaries have the figurative of *dick* defined as compared to *prick*.

Crap and *turd* are two popular terms regarding excretion besides *shit*. The two are rather different in their usage. *Crap* cannot be used as an epithet, though it has a derivative *crapper* similar to *bullshitter*. It also has an adjectival *crappy*, and it can be used as a verb and an interjection. On the whole, *crap* has approximately the same usage and meaning as *bullshit*. On the other hand, *turd* is very limited in its usage, mainly as a figurative epithet.

Tit is a popular term for a female breast, which originally referred just to a nipple, or a teat. Defining the original sense was not a problem to the dictionaries, but when it came to mean the whole breast, it was considered too vulgar. The interjection '*Tits!*' can mean 'great' or 'wonderful', another positive usage of a vulgar term, and although not very popular, *tit* can refer to a foolish person as an epithet.

Ass is an American variant of *arse*, and thus its etymology differs from the *ass* as a donkey. But *ass* the donkey has referred figuratively to a stupid person, and so has *ass* the buttocks. *Ass* may often carry sexual connotations; as referring to a female like 'She's a good *ass*.' or to a sexual act itself like 'He's out looking for *ass*'. *Ass* cannot be used as an interjection by itself, but when accompanied by *my* ('*My ass!*'), it shows strong disbelief or surprise. *Ass* also has a number of special phrases such as 'Kiss my *ass!*', 'a pain in the *ass*', etc.

Balls, usually in plural, refer to the testicles. In a figurative sense it can mean 'nonsense', also used as an interjection just like *bullshit*. But *balls* is popular for another figurative sense 'courage'. Here is another example of a 'positive' vulgar word.

The two derogatory terms for women, *bitch* and *whore*, have the long-used history. Calling a woman *bitch* was originally a figurative usage of *bitch* as a female dog. But now *bitch* as a lewd or disgusting woman can be used in many figurative ways; as a noun to refer to anything unpleasant, a verb meaning 'to complain/to cheat', *bitching* as an adjective to mean 'excellent' and as an adverb to mean 'extremely'. *Whore* is originally a Biblical term to refer to a prostitute, and it was, 'in mid C.19–20, considered a vulgarism' (Partridge 1972).¹⁾ Naturally it also refers to a non-professional lewd woman or even man figuratively. Its somewhat minor usage is as a verb 'to womanize'. *Bitch* and *whore* are not really considered vulgar anymore, but they can be derogatory or even offensive if men used it to refer to women in the feminism society. But for now, the two are widely used in both literal and figurative sense.

On the other hand, the well-used two terms for homosexuals, *faggot* and *queer*, have been treated as derogatory and/or offensive words ever since they appeared in dictionaries, and with the spread of gay power and rights in the modern society, we must be very careful in using them. The two are solely used literally. *Faggot* in old Brit. English was originally a term of contempt for women, hence applied to men who have sexual desire for the same sex. *Queer* is an adjective in original describing strangeness, applied to the sexually deviant.

I have classified *bastard* and *bugger* as classical terms because of their long use in history, and also because they are not strictly slang. *Bastard* means 'illegitimate child' literally, hence a general term of contempt. *Bugger* has been used almost as diversely as *fuck* in Britain, and its vulgar impact is much stronger than in the U.S. The flexibility of *bugger* is precisely examined in Hughes (1991).

Finally, the two well-known profanity terms *bloody* and *damn* are no longer strong enough to have impact in the modern society. The death of their vulgarness has already been mentioned decades ago by Mencken

1) In defining *whore*, Partridge continues: "*harlot* is considered preferable, but in C.20, archaic." Read (1934b: 389) tells how Webster deleted every instance of *whore* from the Bible and changed it to *harlot* and several other expressions, claiming that even in the 1930s "the word *harlot* has little or no stigma attached to it, while the word *whore* is in disrepute."

(1936) and Withington (1930), and it is not worth repeating here.

(To be continued.)

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Appendices

	A C D	A H D	A H D	A C H D	R H D	R H D	R H C	W 2	W 3	W 7	W N C	W N C	W N C	W N W	W N W	W N W	O A L	O A L	O A L	C O D	C O D	C O D	C O D	L D D	L D D	P E D	
<i>the Big Six</i>																											
fuck	×	○	○	○	×	○	×	×	○	×	○	○	×	×	○	×	○	○	○	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
cunt	×	○	○	○	×	○	×	×	○	×	○	○	×	×	○	×	○	○	○	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
cock	×	●	●	●	×	○	×	×	○	×	○	○	×	×	○	×	○	○	○	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
shit	×	○	○	○	○	○	×	×	○	×	○	○	×	×	○	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
piss	×	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
fart	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>compound</i>																											
motherfucker	×	×	×	○	×	○	×	×	○	×	○	×	×	×	○	×	×	×	×	○	○	○	○	×	×	×	×
cocksucker	×	×	×	○	×	○	×	×	○	×	○	×	×	×	○	×	×	×	×	○	○	○	○	×	×	×	×
bullshit	×	○	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
asshole	×	×	×	×	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
jerk off	×	●	●	●	○	○	×	×	○	×	○	○	×	×	○	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
son of a bitch	×	○	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>popular slang</i>																											
screw	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
pussy	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
twat	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
dick	×	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
prick	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
crap	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
turd	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
tit(s)	×	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
arse, ass	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
ball(s)	×	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>female derog</i>																											
bitch	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
whore	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>homosexual</i>																											
fag, faggot	×	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
queer	●	●	●	●	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>classical</i>																											
bastard	●	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
bugger	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<i>profanity</i>																											
bloody	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
damn	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

× ... not given ● ... literal ○ ... figurative ○ ... literal + ... figurative

Table 1. Major vulgar words in major modern dictionaries.

Categorization

- 1) noun
- 2) personal: 'You ——!'
- 3) personal compound: '—— face', '—— head'
- 4) intransitive verb
- 5) transitive verb: 'to —— someone'
- 6) phrasal verb: '—— around', '—— off'
- 7) adjectival: 'a —— / —— ing shame'
- 8) adverbial: '—— ing good'
- 9) cursing expletive: '—— you!', '—— it!'
- 10) general interjection of anger, frustration, annoyance: '——!'
- 11) intensifier: 'What the —— is that?'
- 12) other special phrases: 'don't give a ——', '—— one's mind', 'full of ——', etc.

terms	category											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
fuck	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
cunt	○	○	○	×	×	○	○	×	×	×	×	○
cock	○	×	×	×	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	○
shit	○	○	○	○	○	×	△	×	×	○	○	○
piss	○	△	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	×	○
fart	○	○	○	○	×	○	×	×	×	×	×	○
motherfucker	○	○	×	×	△	×	△	△	×	○	△	×
cocksucker	○	○	×	×	×	×	△	△	×	×	×	×
bullshit	○	×	×	○	○	×	×	×	×	○	×	○
asshole	○	○	×	×	×	×	○	○	×	×	×	○
jerk off	○	○	×	-	-	○	○	×	×	×	×	×
son of a bitch	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	○	×	×
screw	○	×	○	○	○	○	△	×	○	×	×	×
pussy	○	○	×	×	×	×	○	×	×	×	×	×
twat	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
dick	○	○	○	○	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×
prick	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
crap	○	×	×	○	○	×	△	×	×	○	×	○
turd	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	○
tit(s)	○	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	○	×	×
arse / ass	○	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
ball(s)	○	×	×	○	○	○	×	×	×	○	×	○
bitch	○	○	×	○	○	○	○	○	×	×	×	×
whore	○	○	×	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
fag / faggot	○	○	×	×	×	×	△	×	×	×	×	×
queer	○	○	×	×	×	×	○	×	×	×	×	×
bastard	○	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
bugger	○	○	×	○	○	○	△	×	○	○	×	○
bloody	×	×	×	×	×	×	○	○	×	×	×	×
damn	○	×	×	○	○	×	○	○	○	○	×	○

○ ... usage × ... lack of usage ○ ... usage in derived forms (e.g. shit → shitty)

Table 2. Flexibility of vulgar words.

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編集後記 *Lexicon* は創刊以来四半世紀を越えたが, 幸い会員諸氏のご努力によって学会誌に準ずる扱いを受け, 各方面から高い評価を受けるようになった. これに伴い第 25 号からは掲載論文を全て英文とすると同時に論文審査委員制度を設け, 投稿論文の厳重な審査を行なって内容のいっそうの充実をはかってきた. 今後とも真に論文の名に値する原稿を期待する.

なお既にお気付きの方もおられると思うが, *Lexicon* も前号からコンピュータ組版に変わった. 私など時代の流れを感じ, 感無量である. (S. T.)